Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Reportage on Visit of Eagleburger to Tirana 2
Eagleburger, Delegation Arrive *[ATA]* 2
Ruli Receives Robson *[ATA]* 2
Serreqi, Eagleburger Discuss Ties *[ATA]* 2
Meksi, Eagleburger Discuss Aid *[ATA]* 2
Berisha Asks Eagleburger for Credit *[ATA]* 3
Berisha Welcomes Turkey's Demirel to Tirana *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Further Report on Visit *[Ankara TV]* 3
Meksi Receives Kosovo Counterpart Bukoshi *[ATA]* 4
Meksi Congratulates Kosovo's Rugova on Election *[ATA]* 4
Article Deplores 'Anti-Kosovar Feelings' *[BASHKIMI 17 May]* 4
Economic Agreement Signed With Slovenia *[ATA]* 6
Meksi Receives Education Trade Union Members *[ATA]* 6

BULGARIA

Eagleburger, U.S. Delegation Visit Sofia *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Yugoslav Crisis Discussed With Zhelev *[BTA]* 7
News Conference With Ganev *[BTA]* 7
Macedonian Foreign Minister Arrives; Talks Begin *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Seeks 'Good-Neighbour Cooperation' *[BTA]* 8
Departs After 'Very Useful' Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Vasiliou Meets Dimitrov, Gives News Conference *[BTA]* 9
Ganev Supports UN Sanctions Against Yugoslavia *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Ganev on Possible UN Intervention in FRY *[BTA]* 10
Ganev Meets Saxony-Anhalt Minister Kessler *[BTA]* 10
Dimitrov Previews Visit to Netherlands *[BTA]* 11
Two Agrarian Parties Discuss Unification Terms *[Sofia Radio]* 11
BZNS Urges BZNS-United To Dissolve *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Alternative Social Liberal Party Opens Congress *[BTA]* 11
Alternative Social Liberal Party Congress Ends *[Sofia Radio]* 12
Social Partnership Council Holds First Meeting *[BTA]* 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Media Reports on Parliamentary Election Campaign *[Prague Radio, etc]* 13
Havel Discusses Screening, Major's Visit *[Prague Radio]* 20

HUNGARY

Government Welcomes Sanctions Against Yugoslavia *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Statement on Sanctions *[MTI]* 22
Effects of Sanctions Discussed *[Budapest Radio]* 23
Budapest Traffic Said Unaffected *[MTI]* 23
Response to Serbian Threat to Close Danube *[Budapest TV]* 24
Vietnamese Foreign Minister Starts Visit 24
Szuros Discusses Relations *[MTI]* 24
Jeszenszky Holds Talks *[MTI]* 24

Russian Economic Negotiator Urges Cooperation *[Budapest Radio]* 24
Kadar Stresses Importance of EC for Economy *[MTI]* 25
Smallholders Reject Antall No Confidence Vote *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Hungarians Abroad Office Head Appointed *[MTI]* 26

POLAND

Sejm Deputies Call for Vote of No Confidence *[PAP]* 27
Walesa Reissues Call for 'Supraparty Government' *[Warsaw Radio]* 27
Walesa on Possibility of Working With Olszewski *[Warsaw Television]* 27
Walesa Calls for Caution in Screening Officials *[PAP]* 28
Kaczynski Confirms Knowledge of SB Files *[PAP]* 28
Premier Emphasizes Importance of Passing Budget *[PAP]* 28
Government Reaches Agreement With Solidarity *[PAP]* 29
KPN Discusses Possibility of Joining Cabinet *[PAP]* 29
Citizens' Committees Support Walesa, Olszewski *[PAP]* 29
Farmers' Solidarity Backs Olszewski Government *[PAP]* 30
Prime Minister Praises Former Finance Minister *[Warsaw Radio]* 30

ROMANIA

Government Defends Right To Supply Moldovan Army *[ROMPRES]* 31
Spokesman Denies Officer Captured in Dniester *[Bucharest Radio]* 31
Chebeleu on Official Recognition of Bosnia *[ROMPRES]* 31
Senator Comments on NATO Meeting, Image Abroad *[DIMINEATA 27 May]* 32
Journalists' Association Wants SRI Chief Removed *[TINERETUL LIBER 21 May]* 32
FDSN Bucharest Branch Supports Iliescu *[ROMPRES]* 32
Ratiu President of World Union of Free Romanians *[ROMPRES]* 33
Republican Party Confers on Elections Strategy *[ROMPRES]* 33
Iliescu Promotes Loyal Military Officers *[ROMANIA LIBERA 27 May]* 33

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Leaders React To UN Sanctions; Sarajevo Calm 34
Serb Leader: Muslims 'Sabotaged' Talks *[TANJUG]* 34
Serb Leader Questions Interruptions *[TANJUG]* 34
Serbs Propose 'Family for Family' Swap *[TANJUG]* 35
Silajdzic Calls For UN Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 35
Bihac Communities Agree on Division *[TANJUG]* 35
'Recording' of Order To Bomb Sarajevo *[Zagreb TV]* 36
Serb Leader: Europeans Fueling War *[TANJUG]* 37
Foreign Volunteers To Join Serbian Army *[TANJUG]* 38
Serbian Side Decides To Halt Fire *[TANJUG]* 38
Serbian Forces Vow Not To Respond *[Belgrade TV]* 39
Serbs Allege Croatians Take Hostages *[TANJUG]* 39
Silajdzic Says Intervention Only Solution *[Ljubljana Radio]* 39
Serbs Accuse Croatia of Attack *[TANJUG]* 39
Serbs Deny Attacks on Dubrovnik *[TANJUG]* 40
Presidency Welcomes UN Sanctions *[Zagreb Radio]* 40
Government Thanks UN for Action *[TANJUG]* 41
Izetbegovic Comments on UN Sanctions *[Sarajevo Radio]* 41
Serb Leader Criticizes UN Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 42
Number of Refugees Increasing *[TANJUG]* 42
Calm Day in Sarajevo Reported *[Sarajevo Radio]* 43
Correction to Milulic Comeback 43

CROATIA

Tudjman Addresses Nation on Independence Day *[Zagreb TV]* 44
UN Commander Sees No Problems for Operation *[TANJUG]* 44
Developments in Areas of Confrontation Reported 45

Sides Reach Agreement on Deployment *[TANJUG]* 45
Knin Command Frees 15 POW's *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Last Soldier Leaves Vis *[Zagreb TV]* 45
Damage From Dubrovnik Shelling *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Dubrovnik Under Renewed Attack *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Dubrovnik 'Fiercly Attacked' *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Economic Situation Worsens in Knin Krajina *[BORBA 19 May]* 46
Journalists Protest Trials of Colleagues *[TANJUG]* 47
Representative Seeks Diplomatic Ties With UK *[Zagreb Radio]* 47

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Presidency Terms UN Draft Resolution 'Unjust' *[TANJUG]* 48
Government Says Sanctions 'Inappropriate' *[TANJUG]* 49
Sanctions 'Unprecedented Pressure' *[TANJUG]* 49
Government Sends Message to Islamic Countries *[TANJUG]* 50
Official Terms Sanctions 'War Conditions' *[TANJUG]* 50
Sanctions Will 'Seriously' Affect Economy *[TANJUG]* 50
Parents Demand Evacuation of Cadets in War Zones *[TANJUG]* 51
Head of CSCE Yugoslav Delegation on Crisis *[BORBA 16-17 May]* 51

Federal

Elections Begin in Serbia, Montenegro *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Final Results Expected 3 Jun *[Belgrade Radio]* 54

Serbia

Milosevic Urges U.S., Russia To Take Control *[TANJUG]* 54
Jovanovic on Milosevic Letter *[TANJUG]* 54
Milosevic Terms International Pressure 'Violence' *[TANJUG]* 55
Milosevic Comments on Elections, UN Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 55
Prime Minister on 'Unjust' UN Sanctions *[Belgrade TV]* 55
Foreign Minister Says Sanctions 'Unnecessary' *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Jovanovic: Letter to Ghali Meets UN Demands *[Belgrade TV]* 57
Government Condemns Continued Bombing of Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 58
Opposition Leader Calls for March Against War *[TANJUG]* 58
Opposition Heads Belgrade Antiwar Demonstration *[TANJUG]* 58
Draskovic Speaks *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
Draskovic Blames Sanctions on 'Hottentots' *[Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG 31 May]* 59
Correction to Milosevic Discusses Situation 60

Kosovo

Rugova Holds News Conference on Election Results *[ATA]* 60
Urges Exemption From Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 60

Montenegro

Djukanovic: EC's Attitude Toward FRY 'Unjust' *[TANJUG]* 61

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Zagreb radio reports that the Presidency welcomed the UN decision to implement sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, terming them "useful and well received." In a letter sent to the UN Security Council, the government expressed their gratitude, stating that "it is necessary to liberate all parts of the territory of the republic and establish legal authorities there..." according to TANJUG. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, criticized the sanctions because they asked the "Serbian people to disregard their interests, abandon their historical and ethnic regions and move to Serbia," TANJUG reports. He also said that "regardless of the sanctions, Serbs will do everything to ease the sufferings," but "a Serbian defeat is out of the question."

Yugoslavia

International—The Yugoslav Presidency sent an "urgent" telegram to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali concerning the "draft resolution" imposing "unprecedented" sanctions against the FRY, according to TANJUG. The telegram asked for "the urgent organization of an international conference on Yugoslavia" involving "all those involved in Yugoslavia," the permanent members of the Security Council, an envoy of the secretary general, and the EC and CSCE chairmen.

Serbia—President Slobodan Milosevic sent a message to President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin urging that the United States and Russia "help establish joint command over the armed formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina," according to TANJUG. Serbia "has expressed its readiness for full cooperation with peace efforts."

Hungary

Budapest radio on 31 May reports that Hungary is joining the embargo against "small Yugoslavia." The government issued a statement that says: "The Hungarian Government regards the UN resolution concerning the sanctions as a step of major significance which will assist the settling of the southern Slav crisis and which, in the given circumstances, was unavoidable."

In response to a reported remark by "a Serb politician" that "closing shipping on the Danube" would be a "suitable response" to UN sanctions, Budapest TV cites an unidentified spokesman for the deputy state secretary of the Ministry of Transportation as saying such a move would be "a breach of international legal regulations." The spokesman noted that the Danube is an international shipping route.

Romania

Responding to a report by the Russian Defense Ministry, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said Moldova "may apply to anyone, Russia and Romania included," in creating its own armed forces, according to ROMPRES. In that regard, Romania has supplied Moldova with "certain transport means...on a commercial basis," and no deliveries of "armoured means were made." The spokesman said the only Romanian military presence in Moldova is "the 24 military observers at Tighina."

Poland

On 29 May, Sejm deputies from the Small Coalition issued a motion for a no confidence vote in Prime Minister Jan Olszewski's government, citing, according to PAP, the "paralysis" caused by the resignation of two finance ministers over the last five months. Sixty-five deputies from the Democratic Union, the Congress of Liberal Democrats, and the Polish Economic Program submitted the motion to Deputy Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych.

Reportage on Visit of Eagleburger to Tirana

Eagleburger, Delegation Arrive

AU3005160292 Tirana ATA in English 0951 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger arrived on an official visit to our country on May 30. Eagleburger heads a delegation, which is composed also of the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John E. Robson; the special advisor of the deputy secretary of state for Eastern European assistance, Robert L. Barry; the counselor at the U.S. Information Agency, McKinney H. Russel; the Assistant Administrator for Europe Dr. Carol C. Adelman; and advisors and assistants of the Assistance Coordination Agencies for Central and Eastern European Countries.

Present at the airport to welcome the U.S. delegation headed by Lawrence Eagleburger were the Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, the minister of finances and economy, Genc Ruli, and other personalities.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the U.S.A. in Albania, William Ryerson.

Ruli Receives Robson

AU3105160692 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—On May 30, before noon, the minister of finances and economy, Mr. Genc Ruli received in the seat of this ministry Mr. John Robson, deputy secretary of the U.S. Treasury, who has come to our country in the composition of the delegation of the U.S. secretary of state, [title as received] Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger.

During the meeting they had talks on the questions of U.S. aid for Albania in the framework of the G-24 [Group of 24] and the IMF, as well as for the role of the Ministry of Finances and Economy in the implementation of the economic reform in Albania. Mr. Robson had talks also with managers and representatives of trade banks of our country.

Serreqi, Eagleburger Discuss Ties

AU3105172992 Tirana ATA in English 1813 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—On May 30 before noon, Foreign Minister Mr. Serreqi received the U.S. Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. After expressing his satisfaction over the visit of Mr. Eagleburger to Albania, the Albanian foreign minister said that friendship between Albania and the U.S.A. has deep roots. He made this concrete with an historic fact on the very positive echo aroused among the rank and file Albanians by Wilson's 14 Point Program, which they considered Albania's salvation.

On his part, Mr. Eagleburger was of the same opinion that friendship between the two peoples has deep roots. These relations suffered a period of drought for some time, but now I am glad that this time has come to an end. Now we must make everything possible to turn into reality the words of President Wilson. It took a long time nevertheless we are here.

The two delegations conducted talks on problems of common interest.

Meksi, Eagleburger Discuss Aid

AU3005192592 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—On May 30, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Aleksander Meksi received the U.S. Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and the other members of the delegation he heads, at the premier's seat.

Prime Minister Meksi aired his satisfaction for meeting with the delegation of the U.S.A., a country which in the minds and hearts of the Albanians has been considered a friendly country over the years of communist terror, a hope for Albania's salvation. And we continue to hope that this aid will come from America. All the representatives of the greatest country of the world that have visited Albania, he pointed out, have been well accoladed not only by the Albanian people, but also by the representatives of all the political forces that really stand for democracy in Albania and on this occasion by the first democratic government. Albania, Prime Minister Meksi continued, is unfortunately living through the most difficult period as a result of the anti-national, anti-economic, and anti-Albanian policy in the national meaning. The new government is shouldering a very heavy burden and we have started to cope with. But, he said, we are aware of the fact we cannot surmount this difficult situation without the aid of the world democratic community, first of all the U.S.A., European Community, and other friendly countries.

The Albanian Government is ready to reach any kind of agreement with the U.S.A., we are interested in profiting as much as possible from the U.S. experience and aid on the path of Albania's transformation from a country with the worst socialist experience into a democratic country, dominated by the rule of law and the market economy.

The U.S. Under Secretary of State Eagleburger said that it is an honour for all of us to have come to a country that has suffered for such a long period of time and which has now come out in the light of democracy and has left behind a very difficult history. You and your government have our full admiration for what you are doing. The U.S.A. will strive to help you in this process wherever it can. I think that you know, he said, that our ambassador will sign for us an agreement regarding an aid to the tune of 10 million dollars in edible oil, another testimony of our will to help you.

Conveying to the Albanian premier the greetings of the U.S. secretary of state, Eagleburger said that Baker recalls the warmth he found here a year ago, opening a new chapter in the history of bilateral relations, a history which for a long period of time after World War Two has been an unnecessary antagonism, an antagonism which we in the U.S.A. have wished to come to an end and which finally is over.

Prime Minister Meksi dwelt on the economic situation of our country and the commitment of the government to apply the economic reform and establish the rule of law. With regard to the economic reform, he laid the emphasis on the importance the government devotes to the privatization of the economy and freeing of prices.

In order to realize these, the concrete economic financial aid by the U.S.A. and other states is necessary. The Albanian prime minister laid the stress particularly on the needs for food aid, investments of various U.S. companies, and for raw material to put industry in motion. He asked Eagleburger that in the meeting of Group of 24 to be held in Tirana, the U.S.A. be represented by a delegation of a higher level and back up Albania's needs. At the end Meksi thanked the Government and the State Department of the U.S.A. for the support they have given to the Albanian national cause and in this respect to the struggle of the Albanian people in Kosovo and other lands of former Yugoslavia. He asked the U.S.A. to continue to exert pressure on Serbia in order to avoid a probable massacre, which is realistically being prepared towards the Albanian population in Kosovo.

On behalf of his government, Eagleburger assured Prime Minister Meksi for the further commitment in food and financial aid for Albania, for investments and raw materials, and Albania's admission to NATO. He underscored that an end should be put as soon as possible to the violence and murders in that country used to be called Yugoslavia and that the U.S.A. will ask the UN Security Council to undertake severe sanctions towards Serbia.

Berisha Asks Eagleburger for Credit

AU3105160592 Tirana ATA in English 0850 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—The president of the Republic Mr. Sali Berisha met the U.S. deputy secretary of state, Mr. Eagleburger, on May 30 at noon. Mr. Eagleburger voiced his satisfaction for this meeting and best wishes for the advance of affairs in Albania.

President Berisha briefed him on the Albanian situation, particularly the question of the reform undertaken in the state institutions aiming at making the Albanian state assume all the features of a democratic state. He explained also the steps launched for the economic reform as privatization, the removal of 80 percent payment, the advance of the reform in agriculture and its problems related to the needs and financing for raw material. President Berisha asked the U.S.A. to grant Albania a credit for raw material which will later be paid back with credits accorded by the European Community. Albania can be compared neither with Czechoslovakia, nor with Bulgaria or Romania, it is a special case, therefore I would like that the procedures for it be special, he said. President Berisha expressed also to the number two of the U.S. diplomacy our worries regarding the situation in Kosovo and asked among others that the leaders elected freely and democratically, take part in all the negotiations related to the future of former Yugoslavia.

Berisha Welcomes Turkey's Demirel to Tirana

AU3105180492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] A Turkish Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel arrived in Tirana today. President Sali Berisha; Aleksander Meksi, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Tomor Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj, deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and other members of the government met these guests at Rinas Airport.

Berisha and Demirel greeted each other warmly and embraced as close friends. A welcome ceremony followed, at which the two national anthems were performed. Demirel, escorted by Prime Minister Meksi, met the other members of the Albanian Government, the staff of the Turkish Embassy in Tirana, and a group of members of the Turkish-Albanian Friendship Society.

On the road to Tirana, at the top of Durres Street, the motorcade stopped where a Turkish restaurant has been built. A group of Tirana residents holding Turkish and Albanian flags warmly welcomed the guests. Demirel met and greeted them while a holy sacrifice [kurban] was performed in his presence. This friendly gesture expressed the wish of all Albanians that the relations between our two countries will develop smoothly and achieve concrete results to the benefit of both sides.

At 1430 talks began between the two delegations. In the afternoon Demirel met representatives of Albanian political parties. Berisha will host a dinner in honor of the Turkish guests at the Palace of Brigades this evening.

Further Report on Visit

TA3105184392 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 31 May 92

[Report by Kandemir Alpan from Tirana]

[Text] The special plane bringing Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel to Tirana landed at 1230. The prime minister was received with a state ceremony by Albanian President Sali Berisha. Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi and other officials were present at the ceremony.

In a statement to the press at the airport, Demirel said that Turkey and Albania are two fraternal countries and that the aim is to develop existing relations further.

Numerous Albanian citizens cheered Demirel at the airport and on the way from the airport to the capital.

Demirel then went to the palace where he will be staying and received there his Albanian counterpart, Meksi. Demirel said that Meksi came to power with the vote of the people and stressed that this is very important. Demirel pointed out that Turkey will have a say-so in the new world order, and added that Turkey has certain responsibilities and is ready to fulfill them. Developments in the Balkans, Yugoslavia, and Macedonia concern Turkey closely, he said, adding: We and the world are sensitive about the changing of borders.

The official talks between Turkey and Albania began in Tirana. The delegations are being headed by Prime Minister Demirel and President Berisha, respectively. The Turkish delegation also includes State Minister Cavit Caglar, Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Ozdem Sanberk, and others. The Albanian delegation includes Prime Minister Meksi and certain bureaucrats.

Later, Demirel received the leaders of the political parties represented at the People's Assembly. He will conclude his visit and return to Turkey tomorrow.

Meksi Receives Kosovo Counterpart Bukoshi

AU2905132792 Tirana ATA in English 0817 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 29 (ATA)—On May 28 at midday, Dr. Aleksander Meksi, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received at the seat of prime minister's office the head of the Government of Kosovo, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi.

Dr. Meksi hailed the full victory of the people of Kosovo in the fair multiparty elections. These elections, he said, showed the political maturity, civil courage, will, and determination to follow the road of freedom, independence, and democracy. May 24 elections are a significant step onward on the road of the self-determination of the Albanians in Kosovo.

On his part, Prime Minister Bujar Bukoshi thanked the Albanian people and Government for the fraternal aid and support, something that has aroused enthusiasm in Kosovo. He appreciated the support by Albanian mass media during May 24 elections in Kosovo.

The two prime ministers also exchanged views on strengthening the relations and cooperation between Albania and Kosovo.

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the government of the Republic of Kosovo, left Albania on May 28.

Meksi Congratulates Kosovo's Rugova on Election

AU3005175292 Tirana ATA in English 0852 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The message of Premier Aleksander Meksi addressed to the President of the Republic of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova, says among the other things:

Your election to the post of the president of the Republic of Kosovo marks the crowning of the endeavours and sublime sacrifices of the Albanian people of Kosovo and yours to have their legitimate power.

Albania and its uemocratic government follows with fraternal devotion the situation in Kosovo. We hope that finally reason will convince the Serb rulers that it is impossible to maintain under yoke a freedom loving people as that of Kosovo and the spread of war in the south would have catastrophic consequences for the whole region.

Article Deplores 'Anti-Kosovar Feelings'

AU2905142492 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 May 92 p 1

[Qemal Sakajeva article: "Who Wants a Bloody Albania and Kosovo in Flames?"]

[Text] Nobody is surprised any longer (not even simple people, as long as they are patriotic) to see that somebody is trying to make a mare's nest of Albania whenever Kosovo is faced with great events. Since a few days ago, Cassandras have been prophesying disaster with the most antinational and antidemocratic predictions. They say: A rainy April; a dry May; a bloody June.

Who are the authors of this undeclared war or the instigators of this psychological terror? We do not know, but we know their accomplices. You can see them on the streets and in the bars. They spread the psychological terror and try to scare the people at the moment of their greatest victory.

In contrast to all the other countries of the East, the democratic process in Albania has been bound up with the final solution of the national question. The opponents of democracy and the national cause strike at both at the same time. The antinational policies of half a century had their own authors and executors. Some of them have died, and some are still alive. Some of them left behind books and articles and others scattered their perverted ideas here, there, and everywhere like the seeds of weeds. Those who were in power and who used this power to build their antinational edifice, now that they have lost power, think with a loser's mentality: "Apres moi, le deluge."

They dried out Albania, and now they want to set fire to it.

Their second objective is Kosovo. The anti-Kosovar feelings expressed a few months ago were nothing more or less than a faithful echo of the official policy of half a century. They have faded somewhat now that we no longer see the license plates of Kosovar cars on Albania's roads since Serbia's imposition of a blockade at Han i Elezit [Djeneral Jankovic] and its confiscation of passports. Now that Kosovo stands before new political developments that are as dramatic as they are historic, anti-Kosovar feeling is rising again, at a time when ordinary people and patriotic intellectuals, from government bodies up to the president, have raised their voices to demand that Kosovo have its rights and that the world recognize the will of its people. It is precisely at this historic moment that the authors and accomplices of this disaster for the national cause prophesy darkness and want a bloody Albania and Kosovo in flames!

The most vulgar justifications are found for anti-Kosovar feelings. They are, however, very painful for people who are sunk in poverty: "The Kosovars sell at high prices;" "Is this help from one brother to another?" "The Kosovars are immoral."

Is there a single simple shop between Sarande and Tropoje where Kosovars sell? There are Greek businessmen and a few Italians. There is ADA [French company, expansion unknown], but there are no Kosovars. Why make something out of nothing? Kosovar personalities have been asked many questions about this matter at news conferences. One of the most memorable replies was that a people should be judged by its real intellectuals, not its ordinary traders. Would we be pleased if people judged the Albanian people here by our wheeler-dealers that sell to us at infernal prices? It is not the Kosovars who brought poverty, high prices, or immorality to Albania, even though the occasional example might be cited.

This situation is deeply political and is being created on purpose. It has definite objectives. The strings of such an antinational policy lead back to and are controlled by Serbia. The puppets move on the stage of Albania. Many years ago, Dr. Vaso Cubrilovic, in his infamous anti-Albanian memorandum "Albanian Emigration," wrote of the value of secret channels in Albania for Serbia's struggle against Kosovo. Among other things, he emphasized that "We may eventually be able to win over distinguished people in Tirana through secret channels." Insisting on the effectiveness of this tactic, he writes, "We repeat that skillful operation in Tirana and money used to the best effect could play a decisive role." It is now quite clear that Serbia has had distinguished people in Tirana for 50 years, even at the pinnacles of the party and the state. Are there still naive people who refuse to believe that they have put down roots among us today?

Does it seem incredible to those who want to cite examples of frivolous Kosovars coming to Albania that Albanian-speaking Serbs and Montenegrins with Albanian names from the Fushe Kosova [Kosovo Polje] Bozur Association might have come in order to sow discord among Albanians? One more example: Shabi Selmani from Switzerland recently came to Albania with his car. "Acquaintances" at once warned him: "Take that little Albanian flag off your car; otherwise they will see you're a Kosovar and break your windows." Of course, he was deeply angry and said, "How can this be? In Kosovo, Serbia does not allow you to have your flag, and in Albania they tell you to throw it away!"

If Serbia could one day see Albania quarreling with Kosovo (something that will never happen), it would not act as a referee but would put its head in a bag to hide its joy, and would hope that the spat among the Albanians would never end, but would lead to tragedy! Kosovo has now given itself heart and soul to the Albanian cause forever. The choice the Albanians there have made is the most difficult one of all and is absolutely for their Albanianness, so that our painful story will come to an end and will never be repeated anywhere in the world. There could be other options for the Albanians of Kosovo and the Republic of Kosovo (though may mentioning them not put them into anybody's mind). Kosovo could agree to call itself Serbia and be Serbized; in exchange Serbogora (as the local Albanians call the "new Yugoslavia") [amalgam of Serbia and Crna Gora, Serbo-Croatian for Montenegro] could provide material prosperity. But in that case, poor Albania. The Milosevicites with their Tsar-Dusan-size appetites would find it easy to expand into Albanian territory, and reaching the Shkumbin and the Adriatic coast would be a snap for them. What then would be left for Albania and the Albanians? This is why the well-known saying that there is no Kosovo without Albania and no Albania without Kosovo is a truth that comes from patriotic minds and hearts that history has tested.

Fortunately, the day of these infernal oracles is over. Darkness now covers them. They arrived by night, and they depart by night. The Albanian people on both sides have suffered greatly, and in these difficult times, when they see that Europe and the United States are trying to help them, there is no way that one brother can fail to support another. There will be another time for reproaches.

The most concentrated poison is the strongest. Antinationalism was so concentrated for half a century in such a notorious and sophisticated laboratory that now that the dictatorship has perished it is trying to commit its final murder, on the principle: "After me, may Albania and Kosovo go up in flames!"

Dictatorship means the nation's mutilation and oblivion. Democracy means its revival and new life. On this side of the border, the Albanian people lined up in the ranks of democracy two months ago. On the other side, they passed this test years ago.

Economic Agreement Signed With Slovenia

AU3005161292 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 29 (ATA)—On May 27 1992, the agreement of economic cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Slovenia was signed. For the Albanian party the agreement was signed by Mr. Naske Afezolli, vice minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, whereas for the Slovenian party by Mrs. Vojka Ravbar, vice minister for foreign economic relations in the Foreign Ministry.

During the stay in Lubljana the delegation was received by the vice premier of the Republic of Slovenia, Mr. Herman Rigelnik. In the talks the Slovenian party voiced the full support for the democratic reform in Albania. They discussed on the numerous possibilities existing for an all sided economic cooperation of mutual interest.

Our delegation also had some other meetings, such as in the Chamber of Commerce and with various firms where they voiced the interest for the instigation and development of bilateral economic relations and in particular for joint investments in Albania.

Meksi Receives Education Trade Union Members

AU3005160892 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—Recently, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Aleksander Meksi and the Minister of Education Prof. Ylli Vejsiu met with representatives of the Albanian Independent Trade Unions of Education.

The meeting had to do with the demands of this trade union for the solution of the difficult problems existing today in the sector of education. He dwelt mainly on the problem of increasing the wages of the teachers, who are at present in very difficult economic conditions.

After a constructive debate, the chairman of the Council of Ministers accepted as right the demands of the Independent Trade Unions of Education. Proceeding from the real very grave situation of the state budget, but also from the very difficult economic position of the teachers who, together with other categories of working people, consist of the most unprotected working people, in the conditions of the economic reform and free market, in face of the price liberalisation, they agreed that while studying the restructuring of the wages, the teachers must be given priority, assessing the task they perform.

It is thought that the increase of wages will be in some stages. This will start no later that July 1 1992, to be concluded, within possibilities, by the end of the year. In this way, the Albanian teachers in relation to the other branches of the budget system will be more or less in those proportions the civilised world generally has.

The representatives of the Independent Trade Unions of Education demanded that in these studies for the restructuring and harmonization of the wages, the opinion of the trade unions should be taken into consideration.

The representatives of the Albanian Independent Trade Union of Education manifested in the meeting their dissatisfaction regarding the unilateral and unreal information over television, which gives only the statements of the Federation of Education and the Confederation and not those of the Albanian Independent Trade Unions of Education and the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania.

Eagleburger, U.S. Delegation Visit Sofia

AU2905130392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0930 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] On 29 May, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, received Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, chief coordinator of the U.S. aid for the East European countries, who is making a brief visit to Bulgaria as the head of a large U.S. delegation. On the U.S. side, the talks were attended by John Robson, U.S. deputy secretary of finance, Mr. Hugh Kenneth Hill, U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria, William Montgomery, aide to Mr. Eagleburger, and John [name indistinct], adviser on economic issues at the U.S. Embassy in Sofia.

Yugoslav Crisis Discussed With Zhelev

AU3005151692 Sofia BTA in English 1449 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—Today U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger held talks with President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

"We talked about the reform programme in Bulgaria and the commitment of the government to continue this process," Mr. Eagleburger told BTA after his meeting with President Zhelev which lasted a little more than an hour.

Mr. Eagleburger and Dr. Zhelev also exchanged opinions on international issues. They focused their attention on Yugoslavia. The scheduled time proved insufficient to discuss all planned issues.

President Zhelev reiterated Bulgaria's view that there is a real danger of a spreading of the conflict in Yugoslavia, said the president's spokesman, who was present at the meeting. President Zhelev expressed the opinion that ethnic hostilities could spread to Kosovo and this would inevitably result in an involvement, in one degree or another, directly or indirectly, of Yugoslavia's neighbours. According to the Bulgarian president, a spreading of the conflict to Kosovo would mean an involvement of Macedonia, where a large number of Albanians live, as well as an involvement of Albania, Greece and Bulgaria.

President Zhelev also expressed the opinion that the Serbian leadership may be deliberately aiming at internationalizing the conflict in an attempt to remain behind the scenes. Mr. Eagleburger agreed in principle with such a view, the president's spokesman told BTA. The talks once again emphasized the role of Bulgaria as a stabilizing factor in the Balkans. Bulgaria has preserved its old stand of noninterference, even at the propaganda level. The president reiterated that Bulgaria does not wish to take advantage of Yugoslavia's difficulties in any way, but the European and world institutions, the United Nations, the CSCE and the EC should find some way of intervening in order to put an end to the conflict, the president's spokesman stressed.

Asked by journalists when, in his view, the war in Yugoslavia will end, Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger said he had no idea. "But it has got to stop, and the sooner the better," he added.

At his meeting with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov later today Mr. Eagleburger also discussed the developments in Yugoslavia and other international issues. They expressed their unanimous wish for the international public to pool Its efforts and stop the bloodshed in Yugoslavia, the spokesman for the government said.

At his meeting with the Bulgarian premier Mr. Eagleburger discussed the issue of foreign investment protection. According to Mr. Eagleburger, interest in the United States in investment in central and eastern Europe, including Bulgaria, is unexpectedly high. Mr. Eagleburger and Mr. Dimitrov discussed the possibility for aid to the former Soviet Union to pass through Bulgaria. Premier Filip Dimitrov expressed the opinion that the agreement between Bulgaria and the United States on mutual investment protection will not harm Bulgaria's relations with the London Club.

News Conference With Ganev

AU3005134992 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 29 May 92

[Iva Toncheva report]

[Excerpt] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—International issues, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria's position in the Balkans and its attempts to improve relations in the region, and trade relations between Bulgaria and the United States were high on the agenda of the one-and-a-half hour talks between U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev this afternoon.

After the talks, Mr. Eagleburger told the press that he had specially stressed on the U.S. Administration's admiration for the efforts of the Bulgarian Government to solve the Turkish minority's problems. The guest emphasized that the present cabinet differs in its attitude to the Bulgarian Turks from the previous cabinets, which is one of the reasons why the United States is helping this government.

Lawrence Eagleburger spoke in favour of the Bulgarian initiative for a Helsinki process in the Balkans, which he discussed with Foreign Minister Ganev today. Mr. Eagleburger told BTA it is a good idea.

Mr. Eagleburger did not commit himself to a comment on Bulgaria's request for the sending of international observers to its border with Yugoslavia, saying that any position on the issue has to be coordinated with the U.S. Administration first. Mr. Eagleburger said he was well aware of the reasons for this request, adding that it would be granted in the best possible way.

Foreign Minister Ganev said that today's talks helped find solutions to some problems in Bulgarian-American

economic relations, especially in the area of attracting American investment to this country. Mr. Ganev told this reporter that the sides have reached an agreement on almost all questions concerning a future agreement on mutual investment protection. Bulgarian economic experts have reservations on one question only, namely, Bulgaria's foreign debt and its connection with foreign investment. Asked by BTA about his opinion, Foreign Minister Ganev said a larger view should be taken because the process of attracting American investment to Bulgaria is unthinkable without this agreement.

Lawrence Eagleburger and Stoyan Ganev today discussed possibilities for American technical assistance in the conversion of the military industry and in creating a system of exports control. According to Mr. Eagleburger, this will help strike Bulgaria off the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] lists. Stoyan Ganev said that it is very likely that Bulgaria will soon be struck off the restrictive COCOM lists.

American technical assistance for this country was discussed at the luncheon given by President Zhelyu Zhelev in honour of Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger.

Lawrence Eagleburger is leaving Sofia tomorrow morning. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Foreign Minister Arrives; Talks Begin

AU3005150792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] This morning Denko Maleski, Macedonian minister for foreign relations, arrived for an official visit at the invitation of Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev. Martin Minkov has more details.

[Begin Minkov recording] Maleski arrived this morning from Skopje on a special aircraft, accompanied by Foreign Ministry officials and an interpreter. Maleski talked privately with Stoyan Ganev for almost an hour at the Foreign Ministry in Sofia.

A short while ago the delegations began official talks, in which high officials are participating.

Maleski's one-day visit is in return for the visit that Ganev made to Skopje at the end of February, after Bulgaria had been the first country in the world to recognize Macedonian independence. Let me stress once again the stabilizing role of this act, because it included recognition of the existing borders and the renunciation of any territorial claims. These constitute important conditions for preventing any expansion of the dramatic Yugoslav crisis outside the regions that are now riveting international attention, and provide the reasons for the decision of the UN Security Council that is expected later today.

At the same time, the recognition of the independence of the former Yugoslav republics should be regarded as a process whose second phase—the establishment of diplomatic relations—may play a stabilizing role, provided that it is synchronized with the actions and efforts of the international community.

Furthermore, I will point out that having recognized the right of Macedonia and its citizens to self-determination, the Bulgarian side expects guarantees for the renunciation of any territorial claims or preconditions for displaying ambitions that affect Bulgaria's own national interests. Here I have in mind certain clauses in the Macedonian Constitution that state concern for the so-called minorities outside the country's borders.

I do not yet have any information on the specific issues being discussed during the talks today, but they undoubtedly include the prospects for developing bilateral relations in keeping with the common European criteria for interstate relations and in the name of greater stability and security in the Balkans.

At the end of the visit, a protocol on cooperation is expected to be signed. Before this, Maleski is expected to be received by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, to hold talks with Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, and to be received this afternoon by President Zhelyu Zhelev. [end recording]

Seeks 'Good-Neighbour Cooperation'

AU3005191692 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—"Bulgaria and Macedonia should set an example of good-neighbour cooperation," Mr. Denko Maleski, minister of external relations of the Republic of Macedonia, told a news conference today, ending a one-day visit he paid to Sofia at the invitation of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev. This was the first official visit by a chief Macedonian diplomat to Bulgaria.

Mr. Maleski arrived here in the morning. He conferred with Finance Minister Ivan Kostov and Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev. Later in the day he was received by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Dr. Zhelev shared with the Macedonian foreign minister his concern over the possibility of events in Yugoslavia taking a turn that might affect other countries as well. "We hope that the European structures and Europe will identify ways and means to check violence and prevent its spread," Dr. Zhelev said at the meeting.

Conferring with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, Mr. Maleski expressed the hope that Macedonia will be shortly recognized by the competent institution of the European Community. Mr. Dimitrov assured his guest that the recognition of Macedonia's independence by Bulgaria is evidence of the support which the country gives that republic at this political moment.

"We have a common goal," Mr. Denko Maleski told the news conference. "We want to attract all modernization processes to our countries. If we demonstrate that we can cooperate with one another, we will be able to get larger support from Europe," he went on to say. "Bulgaria was the first country to recognize independent Macedonia, and we hope that it will be the first to establish diplomatic relations with it," Mr. Maleski said.

In this connection Mr. Ganev stressed that Bulgaria is trying to be principled in its relations with all states. Bulgaria would like to be a factor of stability in the Balkans, to seek a balance in combining realities, he said.

Stoyan Ganev said the agenda of talks with his Macedonian counterpart included an exchange of views on the situation in the Balkans, on bilateral relations, and questions concerning economic and cultural cooperation. "We agreed that there are many untapped opportunities and that the business circles need encouragement," Mr. Ganev said.

Bulgaria submitted to Macedonia drafts of agreements on trade, on the avoidance of double taxation and on investment promotion and received a Macedonian draft on trade cooperation, Mr. Ganev said. Economic experts of the two countries will meet shortly to consider the opportunities for invigoration of economic cooperation, he said. The relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia are based on trust and sincerity. Everything possible will be done to create, as soon as possible, a new legal and other framework for the promotion of bilateral relations. Both foreign ministers were unanimous that although brief, the visit had been extremely useful. They had had a very open, frank and to-the-point dialogue.

Departs After 'Very Useful' Visit

AU3005171492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Macedonian Foreign Minister Denko Maleski has completed his official visit to Bulgaria, made at the invitation of Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev.

Martin Minkov has been following the talks today and he is here now in the studio.

[Minkov] I must tell you that I am extremely worried by the events that are taking place on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, President Zhelev said when he received Maleski this afternoon. These events worry me, Zhelev continued, because they may take a turn that may directly or indirectly involve neighboring countries, namely Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania.

Zhelev expressed the hope that united Europe and its structures will find the ways and means to halt the violence and prevent it spreading into Kosovo and Macedonia.

Topical events in the Balkans and the prospects for bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the Macedonia formed the central topics of the talks with Zhelev, in which Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev also took part.

After the conclusion of the talks, presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov commented as follows:

[Begin Stoyanov recording] Considerable time was spent in discussing the specific dimensions of cooperation, for which good conditions exist, mainly in the economic field, but also in the political sphere. The president again stressed his view, formed some time ago, that the Balkan peoples must steadily strive to turn the Balkans into what Western Europe is like at the moment, that is, borders should become merely a formality for the free movement of people, capital, and ideas, and then the problems will be eliminated. [end recording]

[Minkov] Later, immediately before the departure of the Macedonian delegation, Ganev and Maleski gave a news conference at the Foreign Ministry, at which they assessed today's visit as brief, but very useful.

I encountered concern over the situation in the Balkans and people who are ready to build the relations between Macedonia and Bulgaria upon all-European principles and criteria, Maleski said, expressing hope that the two countries will soon establish diplomatic relations.

Ganev emphasized the desire to set bilateral relations on a foundation of trust and sincerity, overcome the outstanding remnants of historical and ideological dogmas, and create in the nearest future a new basis for the relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia, including a legal one.

Vasiliou Meets Dimitrov, Gives News Conference

AU3005135092 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—I am convinced that the traditionally good relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus will acquire new dimensions as a result of this visit, especially in the economic sphere, the president of Cyprus, Mr. Yeoryios Vasiliou, said at a press conference today. It marked the end of the official part of his visit to Bulgaria.

The president of Cyprus said that the Cyprus problem was one of the issues discussed at his meeting with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov today and at his talks with President Zhelyu Zhelev and National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov yesterday. He expressed gratitude for Bulgaria's stand on this problem, which is for its quickest possible solution within the framework of the UN resolutions.

We believe that the armed conflict in the former Yugoslav republics should be stopped immediately and that the world public should not permit its further spreading, President Vasiliou said when asked whether the present situation in the Balkans was discussed during his meetings with the Bulgarian politicians.

We have not discussed the issue of the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia on the part of Bulgaria, Mr. Vasiliou said in response to a question. According to the president of Cyprus, the differences in the stands of Bulgaria and Greece on Macedonia will not influence the traditionally good relations between the two countries. My meetings over the past two days convinced me that Bulgaria wishes not only to preserve its friendly relations with Greece but also to promote them further. I was left with a similar impression after my recent talks with Greek politicians, Mr. Vasiliou said.

The foreign minister of Cyprus, Mr. Yeoryios Iakovou, who was also present at the press conference, said that his country supports the idea for a Helsinki process in the Balkans and will seek to contribute to its success.

The purpose of my visit here is to promote the economic relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus, the president of Cyprus said. According to him, Cyprus can help Bulgaria in its transition to market economy. He said that very soon a Cyprus delegation headed by Finance Minister Yeoryios Sirimis will visit Bulgaria and sign an agreement providing for Cypriot technical assistance.

According to President Vasiliou, there are possibilities for establishing joint ventures and for investments by the Cypriot business circles in different economic spheres in Bulgaria. This evening I will attend the opening of the first fast food restaurant in Sofia, which is Cypriot, the president of Cyprus said.

Today the Cypriot president met Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov who gave luncheon in his honour. Mr. Vasiliou invited the Bulgarian prime minister to visit Cyprus. He extended a similar invitation to President Zhelyu Zhelev yesterday. This morning President Vasiliou read a lecture on the topic "Planning in the Conditions of a Market Economy" before students of the National and World Economy University. Later today he attended a meeting of representatives of the Bulgarian and Cypriot business circles at which he expressed the readiness of the Cypriot Government to assist possible Cypriot investment in Bulgaria.

President Vasiliou met today the leader of the opposition Socialist, ex-Communist, Party, Mr. Zhan Videnov, who confirmed the stand of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] for a just solution of the Cyprus problem in the spirit of the official Cypriot proposals.

Tomorrow the unofficial part of the visit of the Cypriot president will continue with a visit to the Rila Monastery (southwestern Bulgaria).

Ganev Supports UN Sanctions Against Yugoslavia

AU0106105092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] A news conference was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia this morning at which Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev expressed support for the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

He answered numerous journalists' questions related to his recent talks with the Albanian foreign minister in Sofia and to the Lisbon Conference dealing with assistance to the countries of the former Soviet Union, which he attended. Minister Ganev also dwelled on the results of his visits to Athens and Saloniki and on his talks with the Cypriot foreign minister, on his meeting with the minister of relations with Europe from the German Sachsen-Anhalt province, on his talks with Lawrence Eagleburger, and with the Macedonian foreign minister.

In the near future our minister of foreign affairs is expected to visit Oslo, where he will participate in the work of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Following this, he is expected to visit Bonn, where he will participate in the work of the Western European Union. He is also scheduled to accompany President Zhelev on his upcoming tour of several Latin American countries.

Ganev on Possible UN Intervention in FRY

AU0106125892 Sofia BTA in English 1243 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—Bulgaria does not doubt the need for a strict implementation of the UN Security Council's resolution on Serbia and Montenegro and will observe it regardless of any possible losses, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev told the press today.

Asked whether a foreign military intervention would be necessary to solve the Yugoslav conflict and what forces could possibly be involved in such an intervention, Mr. Ganev pointed out that the world stand to this issue is rather vague. This is quite natural bearing in mind the extremely serious consequences of such an intervention. Anyway, this problem will not be solved by Bulgaria. I hope it will be solved with the consensus of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe or at least of NATO, the foreign minister said.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev believes that in case a peace keeping military operation by the United Nations or any other organization proves necessary, this operation should take place only after considering the effect of the UN Security Council's resolution. I, personally, do not exclude the possibility of military measures on the part of the United Nations and on the basis of the consensus of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said.

Ganev Meets Saxony-Anhalt Minister Kessler

AU3005161092 Sofia BTA in English 1357 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev today had talks with Hans Juergen Kessler, minister for federal and European affairs of Saxony-Anhalt, BTA learnt from the Foreign Ministry's

spokeswoman. The sides discussed the Bulgarian-German Days of the Economy and Culture which will be held in Magdeburg, the setting up, structure and activity of a joint expert group, and the intention of the State of Saxony-Anhalt to open a permanent information office in Plovdiv, the second biggest Bulgarian city. The German side suggested to help privatization in Bulgaria.

Foreign Minister Ganev stressed on what this country sees as its strategic aim: its integration into the European structures. Mr. Ganev elaborated on Bulgaria's participation in the CSCE and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and its willingness to take part in the work of the Western European Union. "Bulgaria would like to join NATO as well, and this would be useful both for this country and for NATO because it would institutionalize Bulgaria's new role as a factor of stability in the Balkans," Mr. Ganev stressed.

Dimitrov Previews Visit to Netherlands

AU3105174192 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—During a visit to Holland starting today, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov will seek a promotion of traditional bilateral contacts on a broader investment plan. Transport Minister Aleksandur Aleksandrov and the Minister of Agricultural Development, Land Use and Land Ownership Restitution Georgi Stoyanov will accompany the prime minister on his two-day trip. Mr. Dimitrov told the press that this team will discuss opportunities for cooperation in trade and agriculture. Holland is ready to supply Bulgaria with know how and economic methods, Mr. Dimitrov said.

Holland enjoys prestige in the European Community, Mr. Dimitrov said. Therefore, he supposes that the negotiations on Bulgaria's association with the European Community will also be discussed during the talks.

Two Agrarian Parties Discuss Unification Terms

AU3105175092 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Today, the Ruling Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United] held a session in the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Memorial Building in Sofia under the chairmanship of Union Secretary Tsenko Barev. The main issue on the agenda was unification with the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [Nikola Petkov BZNS], and in this connection an invitation was tendered to the Nikola Petkov BZNS, which is also meeting today, to meet for a frank discussion.

A delegation of the Nikola Petkov BZNS came to the building in order to clarify the terms of the long-discussed unification. The delegation set one condition, namely that the BZNS-United should acknowledge that the conference held on 8-9 May 1945 was illegitimate, which would legally amount to renouncing the official BZNS before the law. The BZNS-United Ruling Council will make a decision after defining the legal and political aspects of the terms for unification. The session also adopted a program declaration for renewing agrarian ideas.

At its own meeting today, the Ruling Council of the Nikola Petkov BZNS heard a report on the political situation in the country, delivered by its Chief Secretary Anastasiya Dimitrova-Mozer. The council also discussed an accountability report on the state of the organization and its tasks and considered topical issues relating to the participation of Nikola Petkov BZNS members in the liquidation councils and the effort to restore land to its owners.

BZNS Urges BZNS-United To Dissolve

AU3105191992 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] On 31 May, the two-day meeting of the Ruling Council of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] ended. A resolution on the application of the Law on Agrarian Land Use and Ownership was adopted. The council has not received a reply from the BZNS-United on the unification formula proposed on 30 May. According to Georgi Pinchev, organizational secretary, the fact that the Green Agrarians [Nikola Petkov BZNS] insist on the dissolution of the Orange Union [BZNS-United] is a matter based not only on political, but economic reasons. The BZNS-United must understand that the Nikola Petkov BZNS is the only legal heir of the Agrarians' property.

Anastasiya Mozer did not commit herself on the date of the future unification congress, but said that she hopes that the congress will take place before the end of the year. Jointly marking the anniversary of the murder of Aleksandur Stamboliyski in the village of Slavovitsa is a step in this direction, she thinks.

Alternative Social Liberal Party Opens Congress

AU3005184092 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 30 May 92

[Excerpt] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—The Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASP) opened its third congress in the Black Sea city of Varna today. It will consider the ASP's role in the democratic processes in Bulgarian society in its capacity as an affiliate of the ruling coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The ASP chairman, Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Vasilev, discussed some phenomena in the Bulgarian political scene and stressed the contribution of the ASP, one of the two SDS-affiliated parties which has not yet split.

At her request, President Zhelyu Zhelev received Mrs. Lyudmila Filipova, wife of Georgi Atanasov, the last prime minister under Todor Zhivkov's communist regime, who has been remanded in custody on charges of being one of the culprits for the economic catastrophe in

Bulgaria. The president heard Mrs. Filipova's arguments and said he would discuss with Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev the possibility of finding a humanitarian solution in view of the prisoner's health condition, the presidential spokesman told BTA. [passage omitted]

Alternative Social Liberal Party Congress Ends

AU3105195792 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] On 31 May in Varna, the Third Regular Congress of the Alternative Social Liberal Party ended. The declaration adopted by the congress points out that after the October 1991 elections the Union of Democratic Party [SDS] assumed the historical responsibility of putting an end to the totalitarian-communist government system, led the country out of the grave socialeconomic crisis, and affiliated our society with the values of democracy and freedom. The Alternative Social Liberal Party, as one of the most authoritative parties within the SDS, which conducts a constant and principled line of social activity, assumes a great part of that historical responsibility. Governing the country at this stage of its development is an exceptionally difficult task. Its implementation evoked many contradictions among the SDS coalition partners, who achieved an important victory in the last elections.

The Alternative Social Liberal Party, as a party of professionalism and intellect which asserts itself responsibly in political life, took part in the country's government during the transition to real democracy. It categorically opposes unpardonable careerism, corruption and primitive petty political games, and the lack of competence and professionalism at all levels and spheres of state government.

The Third Regular Congress of the Alternative Social Liberal Party adopted a memorandum on the state of the Bulgarian economy and the development of the economic reform. It will be published on 1 June.

The participants elected by secret ballot a new leadership. Prof. Nikolay Vasilev was elected party chairman. The other two candidates were Asen Michkovski and Dr. Filip Lazarov.

Social Partnership Council Holds First Meeting

AU3005171592 Sofia BTA in English 1519 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—The government, the employers and the trade unions set up a National Council for Social Partnership today. Their representatives signed the rules to govern a national system of social partnership.

The Council for Social Partnership will discuss and adopt at national level agreements for settling problems concerning labour conditions, social insurance and the living standard of the nation and the economic parameters determining it. The social partnership system provides for the establishment of social partnership bodies at regional and branch level.

The new system of social partnership will replace the National Tripartite Commission which coordinated the interests of the government, the employers and the trade unions during the term of the previous coalition government of Dimitur Popov. When the government of Filip Dimitrov, the first non-communist government of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), came to power, the work of the Tripartite Commission was discontinued. This engendered social tension which reached its peak in May after the latest liberalization of the prices of energy and staple foodstuffs without compensating the incomes of the population. Then the two major trade union amalgamations—the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) and the Podkrepa Labour Confederation—joined hands, something quite unusual for them, and came out with a joint memorandum demanding that the government provides compensations for the latest rise in prices. They unanimously demanded the formation of a new government with which to negotiate and this was one of the factors which led to the replacement of several cabinet ministers.

At its first session the National Council for Social Partnership discussed the most pressing issues—pensions and working wages. The next few weeks will show whether this council will be efficient, the leaders of the two trade unions believe. Despite the cabinet changes, the two trade union amalgamations still believe that there are forces in the government which do not wish social dialogue.

Media Reports on Parliamentary Election Campaign

CD3005174492

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on the run-up to the 5-6 June CSFR general elections monitored by FBIS London Bureau from the following sources: Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network (CSFR radio), Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network (Czech radio), Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network (Slovak radio), Prague Federal 1 Television Network (CSFR TV), Prague CSTK, and Budapest Kossuth Radio Network (Hungarian radio).

Republican Party Criticizes Treaties with Germany, Russia

"I have known fascism and communism, so I disagree with the nationalist-fascist excesses of some politicians and with treaties like those concluded with Germany and with Russia," says "(Josef Sarka)", former Republican Party chairman and spokesman for the Party of Republican and National Democratic Unity, in CSFR radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 1030 GMT on 28 May. "The Germans caused the war. They have hundreds of thousands of lives on their conscience, as well as the sufferings of millions of families and enormous financial losses of the subdued nations. If any treaty is to be concluded, it must be a peace treaty based on equal partnership. It must make up for all our losses. Germany has repaid them to a number of Western countries and to Israel. It did not repay us. It is trying to impose its trusteeship on us. The treaty with Russia that Havel concluded is equally unfair. It is nothing but bootlicking with Russian communists. Our party will press for the annulment of these treaties and will try to bring about new negotiations based on equal partnership."

Slovakia's Hungarian Parties Hold Forum

Correspondent Vilmos Kovacs reports the following during Hungarian radio's regularly scheduled newscast in Hungarian at 2000 GMT on 28 May on "an open political forum" held by Slovakia's Hungarian parties in Budapest. Party officials' comments recorded:

"[Kovacs] We will remain together even after the election, stressed the leaders of the Hungarian parties running together in Czechoslovakia's 5-6 June elections. Coexistence Movement Chairman Miklos Duray delivered a speech in which he considered the confederation's fate the most important issue. This is not only a Czechoslovak internal affair but also a foreign political question since it can influence the politics of all of central Europe. Duray closed his analysis of the Czechoslovak situation with the following words:

"[Duray] We consider the territorial and cultural autonomy issues the most significant issues as Czechoslovakia goes through the current change. We run in the elections on this, and this will be one of our main program points after the election.

"[Kovacs] Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, analyzing the hitherto cooperation, took a stand in favor of maintaining the coalition. He added:

"[Bugar] Cooperation will be based on joint representation of the question which greatly affects the minority, namely educational autonomy.

"[Kovacs] Hungarian People's Party Chairman Gyula Pope also urged further unity:

"[Pope] Creating unity—a real and formal unity—may not be so important, but it is necessary to create the unity of content. No matter which way we look at it, every Hungarian in Czechoslovakia—whether they admit it or not, whether they know it or not—in essence, belongs to one party: the party of Czechoslovakia's Magyardom.

"[Kovacs] (Laszlo Gyurovszki), Hungarian Civic Party Presidium member and Party spokesman, said the following about his Party not joining the coalition:

"[(Gyurovszki)] The primary reason is that there was no will to do this, so this way the two [words indstinct] are forced to compete against each other in the elections."

Civic Democratic Alliance Resists 'Separatists'

Daniel Kroupa, a Civic Democratic Alliance candidate, discusses the Alliance's history and its election program during Czech radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 1750 GMT on 28 May. Kroupa notes: "We cooperated on laws on returning the land, making land owners equal. We were the only party that could submit to the Federal Assembly a draft Constitution because it was, in fact, the Federal Assembly's obligation to work out the Constitution. I must mention what we call Civic Democratic Alliance struggles for the Republic. You know that our dear Czechoslovakia is being threatened by separatists, and I have the honor of saying that the Civic Democratic Alliance has been the firmest Party of resistance against the intrigues of separatists."

Green Party Candidates for Federation, Conservation

An unidentified correspondent conducts the following interview with Green Party Chairman Ljuba Lacinova and "(Klaudius Vicenik)", president of the Center for Developing Man, during a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 1415 GMT on 28 May. Lacinova and "(Vicenik)" are Green Party candidates to the Slovak National Council from Bratislava. Comments by Lacinova and "(Vicenik)" recorded:

"[Correspondent] Are you on the right, the left, or in the center?

"[(Vicenik)] We want to emerge from the crisis, the crisis which includes not only us but also our entire civilization. That is why we are in the center. We will try to explain to those on the right and on the left that our policy is not aimed against them.

"[Correspondent] Do you support the Czechoslovak economy's transformation?

"[Lacinova] Yes, but so it has no undesirable influence on a healthy life for future generations. The manner must be intelligible and transparent. The gradual steps must be correctly prepared and argued. We do not agree with the views that a rank and file citizen has nothing to say about that.

"[Correspondent] Do you think that Slovakia has enough electric power?

"[(Vicenik)] Yes, we have enough electricity. However, the question is conserving its use. We are one of the biggest electric power consumers in Europe.

"[Correspondent] Are you against Slovakia's international subjectivity?

"[Lacinova] We are for gradual expansion of International Affairs Ministry powers. We are for a parity representation at embassies and for a circulation of roles abroad so that a distinct and fresh picture about Slovakia might be created everywhere. These aims can be implemented in a federative arrangement."

Klaus Supports Acceleration of Reforms

"We stand at an historic crossroads. Now or never! It is a matter for all of us. The future is in our hands," cries Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus in Czech radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 0530 GMT on 29 May. "We will have nobody to complain about or nobody to address our complaints to if things go wrong or not the way we want them to go. The Civic Democratic Party message is: The guarantee of post-November development, keeping the essential direction that we have embarked upon and keeping the basic pace that was put in force in our country. If we succeed—and we hope that we will, because nobody else is offering the same alternative—that is, if we succeed to obtain a sufficient number of votes—we want to straighten up that direction even a bit more, and we want to accelerate that pace a bit more."

Havel Discusses Czech Attitude Toward Slovak Independence

CSFR TV in Czech carries the following announcer-read report on comments by CSFR President Vaclav Havel during a visit to eastern Slovakia on 28 May. Havel's comments are recorded:

"[Announcer] Mr. President, we sometimes hear voices from Bohemia saying that if democracy were to be endangered in Slovakia after the elections, then the Czech Republic would split off. Do you consider that correct?

"[Havel] I think that it depends on you, Slovak voters, whether democracy will or will not be endangered in Slovakia. However, were it to be, then democracy would be endangered not only in Slovakia but also in the Czech lands and in Poland and Hungary. It is our common cause to see that freedom, human rights, equality of citizens, and democracy is victorious everywhere.

"[Announcer] The question of the Czechs' attitude toward the Slovaks' struggle for national identity was answered by Vaclav Havel:

"[Havel] In principal, we must be very careful when we air such simplified moral judgments about nations and when we say that one nation is vain, another is agressive, another cowardly, etc. I would be afraid to do that. However, somehow I say this on the side. Otherwise, it is true that in the Czech subconsciousness there are certain attitudes surviving from the times when we were a unitarian state, from the times when the ruling concept was the idea of a common nation, a Czechoslovak nation. Many people in the Czech milieu have somehow become used to that idea and do not have sufficient understanding of the Slovak nation's present-day emancipation efforts. That is true; however, it is important to note that this is not true of all Czechs."

Hungarian Civic Party Fears Declaration of Slovak State

Correspondent Peter Nyaradi reports the following during Hungarian radio's regularly scheduled newscast in Hungarian at 2000 GMT on 28 May on a news conference by the Hungarian Civic Party in Bratislava: "Chairman Laszlo Nagy said declaring an independent Slovak state could pose a threat and possibly claim human lives because this solution would expose Magyars living in southern Slovakia to direct danger. He said that his Party became the target of attacks by the other Magyar parties in Slovakia because it accepted participation in government and, by doing so, made the presence of Magyars in any decision-making process possible. Laszlo Nagy said this pulling apart could lead to the failure of any Magyar party getting into the Slovak parliament, which would result in an extraordinarily special situation in Slovakia. What Laszlo Nagy had in mind was that the conflict between his party and the Miklos Duray-led Egyuetteles Movement—the basis of which is partly personal conflict and partly the difference between the more moderate Hungarian Civic Party and the more radical Egyuetteles in their respective policies—can turn the already anti-Magyar Slovak public against the ethnic Hungarians even further. As a result, attempts at autonomy would be impossible, as would protection of fundamental Magyar interests, something which is too great a risk for the Magyars living here. This view is reasonably well backed by the public opinion poll published in Prague today according to which the coalition of the Magyar Christian Democratic Movement and Egyuetteles would not even get four percent in the elections, which is below the seven percent entry threshold for parliamentary representation. The Hungarian Civic party, as a party standing alone, is supposed to get five percent; realistically, it could get close to three percent."

Republican Leader Says Former Collaborators Should Leave Their Posts

"Prague—The chairman of the Assembly for the Republic- Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSC), Miroslav Sladek, yesterday said Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has confessed he has a record in the secret police (STB) files in an effort to 'take the wind out of the opposition's sails'," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0942 GMT on 29 May. "Addressing a public rally here, Sladek said the SPR-RSC 'will not check whether someone was registered three months or three years'. If someone was registered, he must leave his post, he added."

Communists' Svoboda Links Right-Wing Vote, State Breakup

"Hradec Kralove, east Bohemia—Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and election leader of the Left Bloc, yesterday said if people wish that the Czechoslovak federation is exposed to a potential breakup also in the future, they can vote for right-wing representatives unwilling to come to agreement with Slovakia's legitimate political leaders," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0942 GMT on 29 May. "At a meeting of the Left Bloc, which groups the KSCM and the Czechoslovak Democratic Left (DL), Svoboda said he is convinced in the June 5-6 parliamenary elections Czechs and Slovaks will vote for representatives to legislative bodies whom it will be impossible to bribe and intimidate and who will keep their pre-election promises."

Social Democratic Party's Komarek Addresses Threat to Common State

"Ostrava, north Moravia—Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) election leader Valtr Komarek yesterday said the CSSD's main goal is to lead Czechoslovakia out of 'the present deep political crisis'," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0942 GMT on 29 May. "Speaking at a public rally, he described the tension between Czech and Slovak representatives and the threat to the common state of Czechs and Slovaks as the main causes of the current crisis."

Civic Democratic Alliance Warns Against Left-Wing Election Win

"Prague—The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) today warned against an election victory of left-wing forces in Czechoslovakia, and of national-oriented parties in Slovakia," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0942 GMT on 29 May. "In a statement, ODA leaders urged potential voters to be responsible in casting their votes as a victory of the 'anti-reform' left would mean the 'cutting off of our economy from the Western world, an end to (economic) reforms and backwardness'. The victory of Slovak national-oriented parties would be the 'end of Czechoslovakia as a common state (of Czechs and Slovaks)'."

Slovak National Party Campaigns in East

Correspondent Milan Velecky reports the following during a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 29 May on a news conference by the Slovak National Party. Velecky says: "Slovak National Party representatives first briefed us on the participation of their followers in preelection meetings, concentrating on eastern Slovakia. They feel that it has transpired that this region ceases to be the domain of the federalists. Anton Hrnko said that the people in the east have begun to realize the need for Slovak sovereignty and adopted our people's emancipation attempts. Anton Hrnko also spoke of UK Prime Minister John Major's recent visit to the CSFR, pointing out that it is inadmissible for the representative of a democratic country to use his statements to interfere in our state's internal affairs."

Velecky describes further Party comments on the practice of foreign visits, before saying: "The Slovak National Party representatives touched upon two topical problems: privatizing the Danubia state printing enterprise and granting licenses for radio and television broadcasts. While they brought no new information on the problems, they are convinced that the future government must return to these matters. Party Chairman Jozef Prokes also reacted to an open letter from Deputy (Alfonz Michalica). As he said, this former Party colleague of theirs—now a candidate for the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, as he found out that the Slovak National Party does not count on him—sent [words indistinct]. The Slovak National Party representative also discussed the Czechoslovak state setting aside $500,000 to help remedy the consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. Reports available to Party representatives indicate that this figure was allocated by the deputy foreign minister unchallenged to Czech enterprises and institutions, specifically to the Polytechna firm, Prague's Nuclear Physics Research Institute, and the hospital in Motol. The Slovak National Party is convinced that similar divisions of money must take place only on the basis of competition, where equal approach would be granted to firms from Slovakia."

Slovak People's Party Running Out of Media Campaign Funds

Correspondent Michael Tvarozek reports the following during a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 29 May on a news conference by the Slovak People's Party. Tvarozek says: "Slovak People's Party representatives are unhappy with Slovak Radio's policies. Since this Party has not managed to get a loan, it has no money to pay for television or radio shots. This Party is paying about Kcs 150,000 for its preelection campaign. They called an extraordinary news conference on the course of some sort of Party car and bus (?relay) which started at Sobrance a while ago and which should end at Devin. The Slovak People's Party hopes that this will help them overcome the magic border of five percent necessary for getting seats in parliament."

Slovak Radio Perdicts Victory for Meciar's Party

"(Pavol Havlik)", head of Slovak Radio's "methodical research cabinet," reports the following during a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 29 May on a Slovak radio public opinion poll on the campaign. "(Havlik)" says: "The sample of voters included 832 respondents from all over Slovakia. The results are statistically representative, but there is a possible deviation of plus or minus two or three percent. As far as support goes, it appears that the Slovak political scene remains stable. This has been the case for some time, six months at least. We can say that the Movement for Democratic Slovakia will win in the election. The figures at the moment—that is, at the time of research—show about 32 percent voting to the Slovak National Council, slightly less to the Federal Assembly. Then there follows a group of three political parties or movements whose election support is very close. Second place, with just a small advantage, is held by the Party of Democratic Left, followed by the Slovak National Party and the Christian Democratic Movement. These parties are showing support of between 10 and 14 percent. As for the Social Democratic Party, our research shows that the Party is definitively in because its support is oscillating between five and seven percent, which should suffice both for the Slovak National Council and the Federal parliament." "(Havlik)" notes that the poll indicates that support for the Civic Democratic Party/ Democratic Party coalition is very small and that the Hungarian Civic Party has little chance of making it to parliament, before saying: "About six percent have decided to go to the polls, while 10 percent want to go to the polls but are unsure for whom to vote."

Slovak National Party Hinders Nationalist Opponent

"Bratislava—The election campaign of the Slovak People's Party (SLS) is paradoxically hindered by another Slovak nationalist party—the Slovak National Party (SNS), SLS spokesman Juraj Racko told a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May.

Parties Deny Candidates Collaborated With Secret Police

"Prague—None of the 52 Christian Democratic Party (KDS) candidates has been a conscious secret police (STB) collaborator, KDS spokesman Ondrej Turek told CSTK today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "Also Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) Deputy Chairman Jaromir Neumann told CSTK none of the ODA's candidates has been found to be STB collaborator. Six out of the 420 Club of Committed Non-Party Members (KAN) candidates have been found to be registered as STB collaborators, KAN Deputy Chairman Pavel Kraus told CSTK today. They were crossed out of the slate, he said."

Lux Supports 'Consistent Implementation' of Screening Law

"Prague—It is not enough to condemn the past (communist) regime, but it is necessary to condemn the communist ideology which has so much in common with fascism, Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), told a rally today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "He said a consistent implementation of the screening law is necessary."

Jezek Tells Rally Privatization May End by 1994

"Prague—Privatisation in Czechoslovakia could be completed by the end of next year, Czech Privatisation Minister Tomas Jezek said at a Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) rally today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "Jezek said 'we want to privatise everything that is privatisable from the economic point of view'."

Civic Movement Official Notes Weaker Government Coalition

"Prague—The strength of the Czechoslovak Government coalition decreased in the course of the current campaign before the June 5-6 general elections, Civic Movement (OH) campaign leader Ivan Gabal told a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "He said the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and OH (all members of the coalition) produced sharpening clashes of views rather than establishment of close cooperation."

Civic Movement Wants Talks Only With Pro-Havel Parties

"Prague—After the elections, the Civic Movement (OH) will enter into talks with only those Slovak parties which unambiguously pledge to preserve the common Czechoslovak state and to support President Vaclav Havel, OH Chairman Jiri Dienstbier told journalists today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "In case an agreement fails to be reached, the OH will demand a referendum on solving the state setup issues, he said."

Dlouhy Ponders Possibility of Meciar Win, Subsequent Talks

"Prague—In the ODA's view, a Federal government based on incompatibility of election programmes could dangerously contribute to a breakup of the common Czechoslovak state, chairman of the ODA political leadership Vladimir Dlouhy said at a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "Dlouhy, who is also Czechoslovakia's economics minister, was commenting on a possible election victory of Vladimir Meciar's leftist and nationalist Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the Slovak Republic. Asked whether the ODA

would be willing to reach a compromise reconciliation with Meciar, Dlouhy said 'we are naturally open to reasonable talks, but within clearly defined conditions'."

Slovak National Party Hopes For Better Results Than 1990

"Bratislava—The Slovak National Party (SNS) will score better results in the forthcoming elections than two years ago, according to SNS Chairman Jozef Prokes," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1557 GMT on 29 May. "He told journalists today the Party is successfully penetrating east Slovakia which has as yet been considered federalist."

Slovak Ministry Official Rejects Ballot Tampering Accusations

"(Pavol Petrovic), of the Slovak Interior Ministry, told the Slovak press agency that he rejects accusations of intentional manipulation of ballot papers by those who put them in the envelopes or those who distributed them. His comments were in response to statements by Peter Missik, executive deputy chairman of the Democratic Party, at an extraordinary news conference in Bratislava on 28 May," reports Slovak radio during an election broadcast in Slovak at 1500 GMT on 29 May. "However, (Pavol Petrovic) confirmed that in Bratislava some ballot papers of the Democratic Party/Civic Democratic Party coalition were incorrectly printed because of a technical fault at one printing plant. The Interior Ministry has already secured an extraordinary reprint of the ballot papers in question, and they were delivered to district offices today. Spare ballot papers will be prepared for possible use during elections."

Slovak Movement's Knazko Meets Press

"Kosice, east Slovakia—'Whoever is elected in free elections in the Czech Republic will be a partner to the party elected in the same way in Slovakia. They will have to arrive at an agreement', Milan Knazko, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), told a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2015 GMT on 29 May. "Knazko said he does not think that the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty supported by the HZDS will be an obstacle to the agreement. In Slovakia, Knazko said, the HZDS's cooperation is possible with the Green Party (sz), the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (SKDH), the Slovak National Party (SNS) and the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS).

Four Social Democratic Party Candidates Disqualified

"Prague—Four candidates of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) have been found to be registered as secret police (STB) agents and were crossed out of the slate, CSSD Chairman Jiri Horak told CSTK today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2015 GMT on 29 May.

Republicans Claims Preelection Polls Manipulated By Government

"Liberec, north Bohemia—Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Assembly for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR- RSC) at a rally today called preelection polls an intentional manipulation with voters because they are conducted by organisations controlled by the government," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2015 GMT on 29 May.

Republicans Promise To Cut Deputies' Salaries After Election Win

"Usti nad Labem, north Bohemia—The Assembly for the Republic- Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSC) will in the new parliament strive to cut deputies' salaries (from the current 16,000 crowns—533 USd) by 60 per cent, SPR-RSC Chairman Miroslav Sladek told a rally today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2015 GMT on 29 May.

Civic Movement Calls Vote for Left a Vote Against Havel

Correspondent Ivan Stupcuk reports the following during Czech radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 1630 GMT on 29 May on a news conference by Ivan Gabal, head of the Civic Movement's election team, in Prague on 29 May on "the voting intentions published yesterday." Stupcuk says: "Ivan Gabal said that the figures published by the Institute for Public Opinion Polls reflect the fact that the situation remains unchanged from what it was a month ago. He said that two out of five voters remain undecided; therefore, decisions will not be made until voters take ballot papers into their own hands. Ivan Gabal noted that the reformist forces and the government coalition, primarily, have failed to establish close cooperation during the election campaign; therefore, the campaign has been taking place in a relatively business-like manner with hard debate of views. Therefore, the strength of the government coalition and of the whole reformist bloc has not increased; on the contrary, it has decreased. However, Ivan Gabal feels that there is still time for the reformist bloc to attract to itself that decisive section of the electorate which has yet to decide. Ivan Gabal said that a vote for the Left Bloc would be a vote against Vaclav Havel since the Left Bloc plans to put General Vacek forward as a countercandidate to the presidential office."

Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party Meets Press

"Dr. Miroslav Richter told a news conference in Brno today that the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party has applied for membership in the European Christian Democratic Union," reports correspondent Marcela Horakova during Czech radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 1630 GMT on 29 May. "The European Christian Democratic Union congress, which should decided on the admittance, will

meet in Warsaw from 23 June. Representatives of the Moravian land organization of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party noted manipulation of ballot papers on which different names appear or they appear under incorrect headings. They also spoke of citizens' fears that election results may by falsified using computers. The long established way of counting votes should still be a guarantee that would eliminate any doubts. Criticism was also raised against the media, above all radio and television. During this important period, citizens do not have sufficient access to briefings carried out by individual political parties and movements; above all, they do not learn anything about their election programs."

Havel Remains Neutral in Election Campaign

"I can neither publicly align myself with any political party, nor can I publicly condemn or attack any party as such, nor say that I will not vote for it or that you should not vote for it," says CSFR President Vaclav Havel in a recorded address to Kosice residents on 28 May carried by CSFR TV in Czech at 1730 GMT on 29 May. "I can only talk about values I endorse and advocate in my public statements and about values I condemn. There are parties whose candidates are people who wrote laudatory television series about Klement Gottwald. There are parties whose candidates are chief editors of evil tabloid papers, whose main aim is to fabricate dirt and smear. There are parties among whose candidates you can find a person who is an anti-Semite, who cannot stand other nationalities, other nations. I will not vote for parties with such candidates. I personally will vote for the party or parties that will guarantee peace, directness, political stability, and sensible dialogue, as well as guarantee that discussions in our parliaments will not be an object of general ridicule but of general respect."

Havel Reiterates Warning Against Federal Breakup

"Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today warned a breakup of Czechoslovakia would cause serious geopolitical destabilisation in all Central Europe," reports Prague CSTK in English in a Bratislava- datelined report at 2009 GMT on 29 May. " 'Slovakia would immediately be perceived as part of an east, and the Czech lands as part of a west. The breakup of Czechoslovakia would be perceived as the West's inability to coexist with the East', Havel said at a meeting with citizens in Liptovsky Mikulas, central Slovakia. 'If I were a Slovak voter, I would hardly vote for a party whose slate would include a person threatening his or her fellow citizens that once Slovakia becomes independent, he or she will show those who had wanted a common state (of Czechs and Slovaks—ed.) what it is to pronounce such a wish', Havel said. He today ended a two-day working visit to central and east Slovakia."

Communist Leader Discusses Possible Presidential Bids

"Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, today sent a letter to the Czech Election Commission and Central Election Commission announcing that the Left Bloc coalition does not intend to have its candidates submitted to screening," reports an unidentified CSFR TV announcer in Czech during an election broadcast at 2040 GMT on 29 May.

The announcer-read introduction is followed by the following recorded interview with Svoboda by an unidentified correspondent. Date and place not given:

"[Correspondent] Mr. Chairman, at the beginning of this week you told journalists that the issue of a president was considered by the Left Bloc to be premature, using a proverb about making sausages while the pig still runs around the courtyard. Despite this, we have confirmed that at its rallies the Left Bloc says that it will nominate General Vacek for president.

"[Svoboda] I really think this is premature. So far, no constitutional body of either the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia or the Left Bloc has decided what our approach to the issue of a candidacy for the post of president of the Republic will be. If we are going to be represented by 10-15 deputies in the postelection parliament, our proposal—any proposal concerning either General Vacek or somebody else—does not make sense because it probably cannot gain any considerable support.

"[Correspondent] Mr. Chairman, it is nice that you are such a modest person. Please give us a clear answer now: Nobody believes that you will decide only after the elections. Certainly, you already have an idea of who you would like to see in the post of president. If it is going to be your candidate, you undoubtedly have at least one, two, three options. Who is it then?

"[Svoboda] If there is a contest, I think that Dr. Sacher, for instance, might be a suitable candidate."

Moravian Party Offers Alternative Constitutional Setup

"Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia! Number 4," cries an unidentified spokesman for the Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia during Czech radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 1405 GMT on 30 May. "Many Slovaks consider the Czechs their colonizers, and many Czechs consider the Slovaks an appendix which complicates their life, President Vaclav Havel said. The Moravians are not mentioned in this context, but this is obviously not because the relations with them are totally alright. Moravia and Silesia and their rights, interests, and needs were ignored and continue to be ignored." After repeated complaints of "Pragocentrism," the spokesman says: "The Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia pushes for a constitutional setup in which Moravia and Silesia will enjoy totally equal rights with Bohemia and Silesia within the framework of a common Czechoslovak state. The Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia consider the following model to be the most

suitable one for the Czechoslovak state: either a lands constitutional setup with a decentralized state administration or a federal [spolkovy] setup of Czechoslovakia *consisting of self-administered* subjects, including Bohemia, Slovakia, and Moravia with Silesia." The spokesman concludes: "Moravia needs you, and you need Moravia!"

HZDS Rejects Screening of Candidates

"The Movement for Democratic Slovakia, in harmony with the Federal Assembly election laws, announced today that citizens need not show a Federal Interior Ministry certificate to be included on its ballot lists for the legislative bodies. The Movement stressed that it objects to the so-called screening law and its implementation," reports Czech radio in Czech during its regularly scheduled newscast at 1630 GMT on 30 May.

Miklosko Hails Carnogursky's Movement for Promoting Peace

"The Slovak Government headed by Premier Jan Carnogursky and the Christian Democratic Movement over the last two years have contributed considerably to the maintenance of social and religious peace and to peace between individual nationalities, Slovak National Party Chairman Frantisek Miklosko [as received] said in Poporad today," reports CSFR TV in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 30 May. "Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky noted in this regard that out of post-communist countries, the world regards the CSFR as a country with the best outlook. This is important since foreign capital helps develop the economy."

Federal Assembly Law Lays Out Campaign Financing Rules

"A Federal Assembly law allows for political parties and movements that are entitled to be remunerated for their election costs on the basis of the 1990 election results to the Federal Assembly to receive an allowance from the Federation's state budget," reports CSFR TV in Czech at 1730 GMT on 30 May. "On the basis of this law, a total of Kcs 64,000,000 was paid to political parties from the Federation's budget. As far as loans are concerned, the Federal Finance Ministry has not granted and will not grant any loans to political parties or movements. Pending the results of the Czech National Council [CNC] elections and according to a CNC law, the Czech Republic Finance Ministry has granted a state allowance to political parties. Kcs 17,155,000 has been paid by now. As far as the Czech Republic Finance Ministry knows, no political party has asked for a loan from the state budget. According to a Slovak National Council law, an allowance from the Slovak Republic state budget totalling Kcs 6,679,000 was granted to political parties and movements in the Slovak Republic. Apart from this, some political parties and movements asked the Finance Ministry to grant them returnable financial help. These were, first and foremost, the Civic Democratic Union—which received Kcs 1,000,000 this year—and the Christian Democratic Movement—which also received Kcs 1,000,000. The Green Party received Kcs 600,000. Other parties received approximately Kcs 300,000-500,000 each."

Komarek Criticizes Optimism Over Economy

"Liberec, north Moravia—Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) election leader Valtr Komarek today criticised optimistic statements by government economists that the Czechoslovak economy has reached the bottom and now is on the rise," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May. "He said that if this is the case, a number of enterprises would have had to go bankrupt, which until now has not happened frequently. A wave of bankruptcies will come when the state stops supporting unprofitable enterprises, which will happen sometime after the end of the current coupon privatisation."

Social Democratic Legislator Suggests Klaus Party is 'Fascist'

"Most, north Moravia—Czechoslovak parliamentarian Milos Zeman told a CSSD rally here today that 'our little Czech fascists' who today say they are on the right end of the political scene want to replace the previous left-wing dictatorship with one of the right- wing," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May. "Zeman said voters should not take too seriously those establishing fundamentalist, 'Kim il-Song-like parties with a single beloved leader'."

Jezek Hoped To Link Coupon Privatization, Unity of Common State

"Brno, south Moravia—Czech Privatisation Minister Tomas Jezek (Civic Democratic Alliance - ODA) said here yesterday: 'We wanted coupon privatization to contribute to the unity of the common state (of Czechs and Slovaks)'," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May.

Slovak Parties' Officials Discuss Postelection Coalitions

"Bratislava—The chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) council, Rudolf Filkus, today rejected a post- election coalition with the Slovak Democratic Left Party (SDL - former communists)," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May. "However, in an interview with CSTK he did not rule out the possibility of forming a coalition with the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS), led by Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek. On post-election coalition relations, SDL Deputy Chairman Lubomir Ftacnik told CSTK that 'it will be a question of whether national-oriented or democratic- and social-oriented groups will prevail in Slovakia'. SDSS Deputy Chairman Boris Zala said his party would not enter a coalition with former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's HZDS. 'If three parties were needed to form the coalition, it would depend on the HZDS (as

an expected election winner), to make a choice', Zala said when asked whether or not the SDSS would form a coalition with the SDL."

HZDS Leader Dissociates Himself From Party Member's Privatization Statement

"Bratislava—Filkus today dissociated himself from a statement by HZDS Deputy Chairman Marian Augustin Huska that the HZDS would halt coupon privatisation if it won the elections," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May. " 'This is not the opinion of our Movement, but is his own', Filkus told CSTK."

Parties React to Havel's TV Comments on Leftist Parties

"Bratislava—The Czechoslovak Democratic Left (DL) today described yesterday's TV news as a good example of a non-objective reaction to the increasing voter support for parties on the left of the country's political spectrum," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May. "A statement presented to CSTK today said that Czechoslovak television yesterday 'repeated parts of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's address in Kosice, east Slovakia on May 28, where he impartially explained which parties he would not vote for in the upcoming elections. He did not name any parties and coalitions but the television editors understood the president in such a way that they included (in film) of his speech shots of political parties running in the elections so that viewers would know whom the president had in mind'. The statement said that as a result of the television coverage, the Liberal Social Union (LSU - Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Agrarian Party and Greens Party) and the Left Bloc (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and Czechoslovak Democratic Left) were labelled as anti-Semitic. In this connection, the Slovak Communists Union (SKS) has appealed to the Czechoslovak prosecutor general's office and the central electoral commission to consider taking action against the television's Federal channel for its 'nonobjective approach towards the political left'."

Republican Party Chairman Sladek Expects Election Cheating

"Brno, south Moravia—The chairman of the Assembly for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSC), Miroslav Sladek, told a news conference today 'the elections will (undoubtedly) be accompanied by fraud because it is happening already now'," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May. "He said he expects 'electoral commissions will cheat and throw away inconvenient election ballots'."

Porubjak, Demes Stress Need for Common State

"Bratislava—Chairman of the Civic Democratic Union (ODU) Martin Porubjak and Slovak Minister of International Relations Pavol Demes stressed the need to keep Czechoslovakia together as a common state of Czechs and Slovaks," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2014 GMT on 30 May.

Havel Discusses Screening, Major's Visit

LD3105152192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 31 May 92

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova; place and date not given; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] [passage omitted] Among the events that took place at the beginning of this week, I have chosen your meeting with the independent commission at the Federal Ministry of the Interior. What was the subject of your discussion with them?

[Havel] Yes, this commission paid a visit to me and I will use your question to supplement with some more information the minor sensation which I provoked by my statement in the last Conversations.

First, I should say that president is a post not submitted to the law of screening—I submitted myself to screening on my own decision, it was my own diligence.

Second, the finding I received from the independent commission means a negative screening result—this means I am clean, not disgraced.

Third, I was neither obliged to speak about the result of my screening nor was I obliged to say anything more than that the result was negative. I said what I said because I just cannot resist it and always tend to say everything, because I am such a lover of truth. I spoke out without any political speculations. [passage omitted]

Speaking with the commission members I came to realize, or I received a confirmation of what I knew or what I sensed, i.e. that the majority of the those investigated for collaboration with the Security Service [StB] were in fact courageous people who successfully resisted all those pressures. Mr. Basta says that these case represent about 95 percent; only 5 percent of those investigated became in some way involved with the police to such a degree that they may have caused harm or are suspected of having harmed other people.

I should like to use this opportunity to express my acknowledgement of the work of the commission, and at the same time I should like—and this is in fact the reason why I speak about this, as the issue now is not my person, what matters is citizens' awareness—to draw citizens' attention to the fact that it is no special shame, in fact it is no shame at all, if somebody finds oneself in the category of a a person under investigation, it is rather a signal of an increased interest by the police in the person. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] This week our country was visited by British Prime Minister John Major. He expressed support for

political and economic reforms in our country. He met you—does he have a sense of humor? He does not give that impression.

[Havel] I am aware of the fact that Prime Minister Major may sometimes give an impression on television of being a sort of wet blanket, a sort of a grey-suited official. He is not this sort of person at all—on the contrary, he is extremely amiable, a real English gentleman.

However, what is even more important than being amiable and having a sense of humor is that he is a very matter-of-fact person with logical thinking and a constructive approach, a man with whom it is a pleasure to discuss things. Everything he says makes sense, he expresses himself briefly, lucidly and clearly, it makes sense. I felt it very easy to hold talks with him. He explained to me very quickly the British attitude toward the main issues we discussed—the future security setup of Europe, European Communities, our relations with the European Community, etc. We discussed these issues in great detail. I am not going to speak about it in much detail now; I should only like to emphasize his matter-of-fact attitude, speed, constructive approach, logical approach. At the same time he is also a warm person. It was a pleasure to talk with him.

I consider it rather important that he not only publicly and loudly emphasized the necessity of the reform, that he praised our reform and wished it luck in the future, but also that he clearly said, as the representative of the country which is going to chair the European Community in the coming six months, that the European Community has concluded its association agreement with Czechoslovakia, and that he explained that for various reasons Great Britain would consider it very bad if a process of disintegration of our state, legal chaos, uncertainty were to begin, which would make all the links more problematic, slow down the process of integration, and cause a swing in the geopolitical balance in Central Europe.

I consider equally important his positive tone when speaking about our foreign policy, which he praised for the things we have striven to emphasize from the start—i.e. that we do not care only about our country's own interests and about getting somewhere and arranging things for ourselves regardless of others. Of course, as the representatives of this country we care for its interests, but we also have to take into account general interests, we have to participate in the general responsibility because in fact this concerns us, too. Given our geographical location, our geopolitical significance within Europe, we cannot be indifferent to the general setup of Europe, we cannot be indifferent to relations with our immediate neighbors. Our policy strives to include this wider aspect, to assume a wider responsibility, to reflect our own interests within the context of more general interests. We are really not indifferent to what takes place in Yugoslavia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and elsewhere—we cannot be indifferent to these things, we are living in a world where whatever takes place concerns everybody. [passage omitted]

Government Welcomes Sanctions Against Yugoslavia

LD3105172192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Hungary is joining the embargo against small Yugoslavia.

The Hungarian Government regards the UN resolution concerning the sanctions as a step of major significance which will assist the settling of the southern Slav crisis and which, in the given circumstances, was unavoidable.

Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Hermann presented the Hungarian statement which welcomes the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Hungary, by the way, had been a co-author of the proposal concerning the sanctions. The spokesman confirmed that Hungary is implementing in full the sanctions accepted by the Security Council and is counting on other countries to act in the same way.

Statement on Sanctions

LD3105200892 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 31 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government welcomes the UN Security Council Resolution introducing sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Hungary is the only East-Central European country that was co-initiator of the resolution.

In Hungary's view, the resolution is a step of vital significance, an inevitable, indispensable means of solving the problem in the present situation, says the Hungarian Government's statement, forwarded to MTI by Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman.

The Hungarian Government's statement (full text) on the UN Security Council Resolution to introduce sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro runs as follows:

"Under the prime minister's direct supervision, the Hungarian Government has been in contact with all sides involved since the opening of the UN Security Council session, and issues the following statement:

The Hungarian Government welcomes the resolution of the UN Security Council, currently chaired by Austria, which introduces sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Hungary is the only East-Central European Country that—at the request of several other states—has become co-initiator of the resolution.

In Hungary's view, the resolution is a step of vital significance, an inevitable, indispensable means of solving the problem in the present situation.

The government will act in keeping with the security council resolution and will implement the sanctions in full. Also, it expects all members of the international community to do the same," the statement says.

"The south Slav crisis has been jeopardizing regional and European security and stability for months now.

An Army without legal and political control and irregular troops and political forces cooperating with it have been openly committing aggression against sovereign, internationally recognized states. Hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to leave their homes, have turned into refugees. The number of aggression victims is growing from day to day.

"Cities belonging to mankind's cultural heritage are being reduced to ruins. Villages symbolizing the peaceful coexistence of nations and nationalities are disappearing from the face of the earth.

"Such acts, diametrically opposed to European norms, are threatening to flood neighbouring countries with a flow of refugees, the largest since World War II and to considerably change the ethnic composition of certain regions. The acts of cruelty may embitter relations between the nations of the former Yugoslavia for generations.

"No one can stay indifferent to these dangers, the bloodshed, the mass violation of human rights, the suffering of hundreds of thousands of people. All possible means must be used, local and general ceasefires concluded, to prevent further bloodshed, the destruction of monuments belonging to the world heritage.

"The international public and the international organizations are aware who bears the greatest responsibility for all that. That has been proved by developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina over the past few weeks. International forums in charge of the issue have unambiguously determined guidelines of resolving the crisis.

"Diplomatic efforts taken so far, however, have proved insufficient to stem acts running counter to those guidelines, to enforce the generally accepted international norms."

"The Republic of Hungary's Government has consistently taken a stand in keeping with those international norms ever since the beginning of the south Slav crisis, bearing in mind the interests of all nations in the region.

"It has been persistent in making efforts to call attention to the dangers, pressed for ending the bloodshed and for settling the crisis in a just and democratic way.

"All the time, the Hungarian Government has exercised great self-restraint, bearing in mind its commitment to good-neighbourly ties, the lesson of common history, the special status of the Hungarian community in the Vojvodina and in the former Yugoslavia, and its own concerns about that community's fate.

"The Hungarian Government's basic guideline, its only possible consideration, has been that an end to the bloodshed is a vital interest of all nations in the region. Only a just settlement can serve as a basis of good relations and cooperation between these nations.

These parts are inherent in the Hungarian Government's policy and hold good today as well.

"The Hungarian prime minister has outlined his stand at several international talks, including his recent meeting with the British prime minister, that Hungary's participation in the sanctions would be determined by international solidarity, the support for UN, CSCE and EC efforts on the one hand, and by good-neighbourly ties, the status of Hungarians in the Vojvodina and the Serb attitude on the other.

"As the crisis was escalating, more and more countries have adopted the view that the international community must take firm, unambiguous, united action, to increase the pressure on those who still think they can attain political goals by extended violence. The international community must indicate unambiguously that it refuses to tolerate such acts.

"In accord with the UN Security Council Resolution passed on Saturday, as soon as possible, the Hungarian Government will instruct all Hungarian institutions involved about implementing the sanctions.

"Government organizations in charge will give continuous information on actual steps.

"An inter-ministerial committee has been set up to coordinate measures, to assess their consequences and to work out steps deriving from that. The committee comprises representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Finance Ministry, the International Economic Relations Ministry, the Transport, Telecommunication and Water Management Ministry and the Industry and Trade Ministry. According to needs, further experts may take part in the work, including those from the National Bank of Hungary.

"At its next session, the Hungarian Government will examine measures taken by the inter-ministerial committee and will set further tasks. If the need arises, it will use its right, included in the UN Security Council Resolution, to apply to the Security Council when it is faced with special economic problems stemming from prevention or enforcement measures.

"The Hungarian Government's steps serve solely to stem aggression and to create peace, and, naturally, they are not directed against the nations of Serbia and Montenegro.

"Hungary is ready to deliver medicines and food, and to receive transit deliveries, as allowed by the Security Council Resolution. Also, it is ready to support UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force].

"The Hungarian Government expects the difficulties caused by the sanctions not to be used to discriminate or step up discrimination against any group of Serbia's population.

"Simultaneously with the strict observance of the Security Council Sanctions, it is still Hungary's intention to use all opportunities to contribute to promoting understanding in the region," the Hungarian Government's statement says.

Effects of Sanctions Discussed

LD0106103992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] The international boycott against Belgrade, which came into effect on Sunday morning, and the Yugoslav crisis are the topics of the extraordinary government session.

The government is discussing how the UN embargo declared against minitiarized Yugoslavia, affects Hungary. Hungarian-Yugoslav economic relations were lively until the outbreak of the south Slav war. In the last year of peace, 1990, bilateral trade amounted to $700 million. The Hungarian surplus was $170 million—in cash. Half of Yugoslav trade was with Serbia, and for this reason the punitive economic measures against Belgrade affect Hungary particularly acutely. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce has reported that although trade declined by 40 percent because of the war, Hungarian agricultural and machine and contruction industry exports to Serbia are still significant.

Budapest Traffic Said Unaffected

LD3005165192 Budapest MTI in English 1604 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 31 (MTI)—The international passenger traffic of the Hungarian railways MAV is, as yet, unaffected by the embargo the UN Security Council voted to impose on Yugoslavia on Saturday, MAV senior official Laszlo Beznoszka told MTI today.

The international Budapest-Kelebia express train runs according to schedule as well as the Meridian express train. Goods traffic is also unaffected by the sanctions, Beznoszka said.

The Hungarian airlines Malev has received no instruction from the Airport and Air Traffic Administration (AATA) to halt traffic with Belgrade, Malev senior official Laszlo Nazimeczki told MTI.

According to Malev information, Germany's air traffic authorities have suspended all air traffic with Serbia and Montenegro.

Malev flies to Belgrade once a week, with the next departure due on Thursday. Should AATA decide to suspend the flight, Malev will inform passengers in time.

The UN Security Council's sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro do not extend to passenger traffic on borders, Hungarian border guard spokesman Janos Zubek said.

In any case, if the Hungarian Government so decides, Hungary's border guard is capable of shutting down border stations within 30 minutes. Such a step, however, would cause serious problems, Zubek said.

Also, Hungarian customs officials have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, customs and excise office national commander Mihaly Arnold said.

Customs officials have prepared to introduce the embargo on the borders as soon as the government decides to take the step.

Hungarian customs officials are in constant contact with their colleagues in neighbouring countries and they inform each other about measures expected.

Hungary will coordinate its steps after the UN Security Council embargo with neighbouring countries, to reduce congestion caused by the measures, Arnold said.

Response to Serbian Threat to Close Danube

LD3105023292 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 30 May 92

[Excerpt] Yesterday MTI reported from Belgrade that according to a Serb politician they would be able to give a suitable response to international sanctions by closing shipping on the Danube. How does the deputy state secretary of the Ministry of Transportation view this here in Budapest?

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] First of all, it is a breach of international legal regulations, in view of the fact that the Danube is an international shipping route, which as long as the regulations are observed, is accessible to everybody for shipping. Second, it would repeat the same state of affairs which occured during the fighting in the eastern Slavonia-Baranja triangle, in the form of closure, sometimes for a day, for a week, for an uncertain period and sometimes for a specific period.

Since only one or two percent of the traffic that transits Hungary is by shipping on the Danube, this would not cause even a hiccup in European transportation. The possibility for solving this problem via roads and rail exists. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Starts Visit

Szuros Discusses Relations

LD3105212992 Budapest MTI in English 1638 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 29 (MTI)—Hungarian-Vietnamese relations are free from problems, and both sides are intent on developing cooperation on new foundations, Matyas Szuros, deputy speaker of the Hungarian parliament, told Nguyen Manh Cam, foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, who started his visit to Hungary today.

Szuros said that Hungary, which gained experience in economic and political transformation, may give several useful pieces of advice to Vietnam, which is carrying out reforms. Szuros stated it with satisfaction that the two countries had reached an agreement on the repayment of Vietnamese debts to Hungary.

Nguyen Manh Cam said that the first results of the Vietnamese reforms launched in 1986 are already manifest even if the Soviet Union terminated its annual, 1-billion-rouble commodity aid last year. Vietnam hopes to consolidate its economic achievements with an opening towards bourgeois democracy, the foreign minister said. Simultaneously, Vietnam seeks to develop peaceful relations with its environment and revive traditional contacts on the basis of respect for sovereignty. The current visit serves the same aim, the Vietnamese foreign minister said.

In the afternoon, Nguyen Manh Cam held talks with his host, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

Jeszenszky Holds Talks

LD3005222192 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 29 (MTI)—Hungarian-Vietnamese relations are free from problems and may be developed in several fields. To this effect, the conditions of cooperation should be adjusted to the new situation, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told his Vietnamese counterpart Nguyen Manh Cam in Budapest on Friday.

The topics on the agenda included Vietnam's 300-million-rouble debt to Hungary. In March this year, the two countries agreed that Vietnam would deliver commodities worth 8 million roubles to Hungary each year until 1995, and Hungarian firms would be allowed to obtain Vietnamese property, whose rent would be written off from the debt.

Vietnam seeks to develop economic relations with Hungary which it considers its traditional economic partner and a 'bridge' towards Europe, Nguyen Manh Cam said.

To make an advance, the two countries should revise their former agreements, and decide what to retain from them and what to replace with former agreements. For instance, Budapest considers the 1984 Friendship and Cooperation Agreement as outdated.

Russian Economic Negotiator Urges Cooperation

LD2505102492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 24 May 92

[Excerpts] Negotiations on compensation for damages by Soviet troops in Hungary are expected to be long and hard. We ought to pay for the Soviet establishments left behind and they ought to pay for environmental pollution. But, now, who are they? Who is to assume these debts? The possibility of a null balance solution is on the agenda again. However, this is interpreted differently in Moscow and in Budapest. Gabor Izbeki found one of the negotiating partners in the Russian Foreign Economic Ministry. You will hear the opinion of (Vyacheslav Gorubiev):

[Begin recording] [(Gorubiev)] We and our Hungarian partners interpret the null balance solution differently. The Hungarians understand that if they withdraw their

demands and we march out without getting anything. We think the null balance solution is a compromise solution which would take into consideration the realistic, I emphasize, realistic requirements of both parties. I think the solution can only be obtained if the affair is not handled as a political matter. [passage omitted] I have to add that we, representatives of the Russian government, do not take responsibility for the earlier deeds of the Soviet government.

[Izbeki] Tell me, what does your compromise solution mean? Would you like to get some sort of money or do you have any business idea?

[(Gorubiev)] We do not have any premeditated concrete plan. We think any solution is good if it is suitable for the effective use of existing valuable establishments. A few establishments, for example, airfields, could be used effectively by Hungary, Russia, or all of Europe. The other important issue is that money needs to be found for this use outside the budget. Forming joint ventures is concievable. We do not exclude the interest of Western capital, either.

The point is that all participating parties should obtain an income by using the establishment. But this can only be realized with mutual will. If this goes on—who owes whom more, who insulted who more—than the same politicized version will be the same as is presently in Hungary. There is the sequestrated establishments worth 2 billion which is not used by anyone. Well, this is the situation.

[Izbeki] What sort of establishments could interest Western capital? Let us say, besides the airfields?

[(Gorubiev)] Everyone knows, but I will list them. Of course, there are the airfields, which would be useful if together with the Russian and the other republics they could be used with Western airfields. Besides this, there are hotels by Lake Balaton, there are hospitals which, if modernized, could be used. [passage omitted]

I ask the Hungarian party to approach the solution of this matter in view of the future perspectives of our relations. I emphasize this because one of the latest views of your government is to return to the year 1956. But, why not to 1945 or 1941, which would lead us to a total deadend.

On the other hand, we, since we are not the Soviet but the Russian Government now, want to look ahead and to search for the advantages of the two countries' cooperation and not the disadvantages. [end recording]

Kadar Stresses Importance of EC for Economy

LD2205204292 Budapest MTI in English 1147 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Hungary must become a part of Europe's circulation, International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar said in an interview carried by the daily 'UJ MAGYARORSZAG' today.

At present, Hungary has the most favorable trade environment in its history since the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

If Hungary's economic invigoration becomes a permanent trend next year, a boost may be possible by 1994, Kadar said.

In Kadar's view, Hungary's association agreements with the EC and their favourable impact on the country's foreign trade are of prime importance to the success of economic transformation.

Fifteen per cent of all Hungary's exports went to EC countries up to the late 1970s. In the 80s, that figure increased to 25 per cent, last year, it was 47 per cent. Over the first four months of this year, 50 per cent of all Hungarian exports landed in EC states.

Hungary's economic output has disproved predictions that the loss of Eastern markets will cause a general financial crisis and an economic collapse in Hungary.

"We have had serious problems, but Hungary has survived the collapse of Eastern markets," Kadar said. "However hard we have been hit by the collapse of Comecon [Council for Mutual and Economic Assistance] and Soviet insolvency, our losses have amounted to less than those of our historical companions in misfortune.

"Last year, only one-sixth of Hungarian exports went to former Comecon countries, while 71 per cent went to industrialized states. The statement that there is no place for us outside Comecon has proved to be a lie. Hungarian goods can be sold in high-standard markets," he added.

Kadar said 1992 has been a watershed year for the Hungarian economy. Eastern markets will stop shrinking, and with the help of EC association accords and a further expansion of economic diplomacy, it will be possible to increase exports—not only to the West.

"The total of Hungary's exports is expected to grow by at least 10 per cent," Kadar said. In his view, growing exports may result in economic invigoration by next year unless economic policy curbs this natural process.

Smallholders Reject Antall No Confidence Vote

LD3105054492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] The Independent Smallholders' Party will not submit a motion of no confidence against the prime minister after all, because they do not consider it timely. Jozsef Torgyan said in his explanation that together with the submittal, a new head of state should also be indicated, however, the Smallholders do not want to create such a situation. The chairman will propose that the Smallholders' Party initiate the same sort of action against the prime minister as it started against the head of state.

Hungarians Abroad Office Head Appointed

LD2905155292 Budapest MTI in English 1424 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 29 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall today proposed the president of the Republic relieve Geza Entz, political secretary of state at the prime minister's office, of his post with recognition of his merits, with effect from June 1, and simultaneously appoint him titular secretary of state in charge of coordinating governmental tasks connected with the Hungarians beyond the border.

According to the information from the prime minister's press office, the prime minister—at the foreign minister's proposal—appointed Entz president of the Office of Hungarians Beyond the Border, which has replaced the Secretariat of Hungarians Beyond the Border of the prime minister's office, as of June 1.

Sejm Deputies Call for Vote of No Confidence

LD2905174492 Warsaw PAP in English 1553 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—A group of deputies of the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG) submitted Friday a motion to the Sejm (Lower House) calling for a vote of no confidence in the government.

In the motion, deputies argued that "the lack of the government's harmonious cooperation with parliament and the president has in effect caused a growing conflict at the highest levels in the state. This leads to the deepening of a crisis which degrades Poland in internal and international dimension."

"The inefficiency of the Council of Ministers, internal conflicts as well as the resignation of two succeeding ministers of finance led to a paralysis in the functioning of the state's executive bodies, an inability to implement the state budget, and to the slowing down of the reform of state administration and local government," stressed the deputies.

The motion, signed by 65 deputies, was submitted to Deputy Speaker of the Sejm Jozef Zych.

Walesa Reissues Call for 'Supraparty Government'

LD3105191192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 31 May 92

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by unidentified journalist at Gdansk airport, on Walesa's departure for Warsaw 31 May—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, events of the past two days seem to have increased the chance of Premier Olszewski's cabinet being reconstructed, through the Confederation for an Independent Poland and Polish Peasant Party joining the coalition. Do you support such a government?

[Walesa] It is difficult to say how it will appear from the point of view of its program and composition. The present state of the government and, in particular, the way this government solves problems is criminal and I cannot support it any longer. However, perhaps some proposal will be interesting, we will see.

[Reporter] Recently you have severely criticized Jan Olszewski's team, while on the other hand observers of Poland's political life maintain that the idea of the Democratic Union and the members of the coalition overthrowing the government will fail, simply due to the lack of votes in the Sejm for the Small Coalition. What scenario do you therefore anticipate ?

[Walesa] The one I have been proposing for a long time, a supraparty government. There are a few people both in the Union and in other places also, people outside parties, who ought to be used. Obviously by so separating the Small Coalition and the old [government] coalition, the alignment is in both cases bad. Regardless of how it ends, in any case the next solution will be a supraparty government and only then will it turn out to be good, but let us hope we can sort it out [word indistinct] earlier.

[Reporter] Would you accept your former adversaries in the chair of the prime minister, I have in mind here the Kaczynski brothers, as supposedly that is the price for the Center Accord to join the Small Coalition?

[Walesa] In this country there have been many tragedies and I am not proposing the next ones.

[Reporter] There are opposing views on the resolution to reveal Security Office collaborators, one is that these measures have been taken to strengthen the government, and the other opposing one, that the resolution on a vote of no confidence in the government was tabled so that the names of agents could not be revealed. Which interpretation, according to you, is correct?

[Walesa] I think that both are correct in part. However, this issue really must be cleared up well, because each case is different, because collaboration does not always mean treachery and decouncing people; some romantics entered specially so as to do certain things from the inside. That is why I don't know if this present government is capable, if it was even capable of doing anything during these four months. This issue has to be cleared up, but it must be done so well that there won't be too many things causing damage to us all, so that, as I said yesterday, the Security Services will not win again, because this time the non-existent but (?victorious) could win [sentence as heard]. (?Something will have to be said, something will have to be done about parliament).

The recent resolution, this very one on agents, is extremely irresponsible, very badly drawn up, cliche ridden. Parliament and democracy cannot approach such an important subject in this manner.

Walesa on Possibility of Working With Olszewski

LD3105201592 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Lech Walesa wants to respect democracy to the very end, and that is why he did not approach the Sejm with a motion for the resignation of the government, contenting himself with sending a letter to the Sejm speaker. I want to give democracy a chance to prove itself, the president told journalists at a press conference in the Sejm.

[Reporter] Asked whether he saw a possibility of working with Jan Olszewski, the president said: If it becomes necessary, I will work with anyone. When it comes to doing something for Poland the word "no" does not exist. I do not rule out the premier, but I ask for adherence to the principle of drawing conclusions, of doing the job.

The president sees the immediate resolution of the matter of the small constitution as the only chance of coming to an agreement with Premier Olszewski.

[Begin Walesa recording] If the matter of the small constitution could be dealt with at lightning speed—with a great deal of help from the government—then the premier, who will understand (?what I rushed to say), that things can't go on this way, will (?fall in with the presidential line)—not because I want it to be so but because the logic of action demands it—then there would be a possibility, but the only one—to which he probably won't agree [sentence as heard]. [end recording]

[Reporter] The president described the possibility that he might additionally take upon himself the role of premier as the greatest possible misfortune. I did not undertake dictatorship; I only undertook to lead Poland through this difficult period, he insisted. If there is no other way, then I will take on everything, but if there is, and there are still many solutions to explore, then I don't want this. But I will not step aside if our homeland calls on me to take on such a role, Lech Walesa said.

Walesa Calls for Caution in Screening Officials

LD2905222692 Warsaw PAP in English 1716 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—If we do not grant the right of legal defence to the unmasked agents and collaborators, it will be the greatest triumph of the former security services, said Polish President Lech Walesa on Friday at a meeting with Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz.

President Walesa greeted Thursday's Sejm motion calling for the unmasking of former agents still active in politics and the state administration. "Morally, and for other reasons, it is a correct and sensible decision," he said. At the same time, he warned against turning the process into a party-political conflict, and said that any information released must be capable of being confirmed.

Macierewicz assured the president that the information would be released by the Interior Ministry "in accordance with the motion from the Sejm, and no-one will be accused without reasonable grounds." He also insisted that the the unmasking was not a trial, and asked that those named should simply withdraw from political and official life.

Walesa repeated his call for legal safeguards to protect all those accused, reminding Macierewicz that if the terms of the enquiry were too widely drawn, Poland would face a return to the atmosphere of suspicion and denunciations which had existed under the communist regimes.

Macierewicz said that his ministry had been working on the issue for 4 months, in order to eliminate the possibility of falsehoods, slanders and insults. He also assured the president that the release of all the relevant information would be in accordance with the truth.

In a related move, 50 Sejm deputies representing five centre-left groupings tabled a motion asking Poland's Constitutional Tribunal to urgently examine the constitutional legality of Thursday's Sejm motion before June 6.

The deputies, from the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal Democratic Club (KLD), the Polish Economic Programme (PPG), Solidarity and Solidarity of Labour, claim that the Interior Ministry is being forced to act in contravention of Polish law in being obliged to issue the information required by the Sejm.

Kaczynski Confirms Knowledge of SB Files

LD3105205292 Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 30—Chairman of the Centre Accord (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski replied, when asked by reporters on Saturday if any of deputies have had access to the former Communist Secret Police files, that "there are people who have such access because of their rank and position."

He confirmed his earlier statements about his own knowledge of the files concerning former Secret Police (UB and SB) collaborators and said that he was a member of the Committee for National Defence (KOK) and knows "something" about the contents of the files, but he would not be more specific.

Premier Emphasizes Importance of Passing Budget

LD3005220192 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 30—"If the budget is voted down, the situation will become dramatic. But I do hope it will not come to this. This is the reason why I am conducting all these talks," Premier Jan Olszewski told the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily on Saturday.

Olszewski admitted that he was beginning to fear for the budget, especially after the vote in parliament upholding the constitutional tribunal's ruling on pay increases for public sector employees and pensioners.

"There was a moment when I thought that...all the responsible people understand the need for adopting the budget," he said and explained he now had some doubts whether everybody unequivocally understood the interests of the state.

"I cannot count (on the support) of the small coalition since it has already defined its stand but it is both possible and necessary to talk with all the remaining parliamentary floor groups and deputies," Olszewski said while referring to his efforts to strengthen the coalition with a view to ensuring effective government.

"I will shortly talk to the Solidarity Caucus, I will talk to PSL (Polish Peasant Party) and PL (Peasant Agreement). I will talk to everyone who can offer support," he said

stressing that dissolution of parliament and new elections would not be a very good alternative from the point of view of the state interests.

He added that a ruling coalition he sought to form should have a minimum of programmatic credibility determined, first of all, by approach to the Polish economy, which boils down to accepting current conditions and not doctrines as a basis for possible solutions and pursuing an economic policy preventing an outbreak of inflation and protecting the Polish industry.

Government Reaches Agreement With Solidarity

LD3105093692 Warsaw PAP in English 1319 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—Premier Jan Olszewski announced Friday that the agreement signed Friday by Labour Minister Jerzy Kropiwnicki and Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski could lead to a social contract. "In a relatively short time we shall enter into talks about a wider social agreement, which is a precondition for continuing the reform in Poland," declared Olszewski.

He expressed the hope that meanwhile similar agreements would be concluded with the other trade union federations.

Kropiwnicki emphasized that Friday's agreement was the first of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe.

Until now trade union legislation was concerned with disputes between employers and employees. The new agreement sets out the appropriate state and local government bodies which must involve themselves in labour dispute procedure at national, industrial and regional level.

Krzaklewski was pleased with the agreement "despite tense relations with the government." He thought that by the end of the year there would be further deals on collective labour agreements, trilateral negotiations (government-employers-unions) and a pact for "stabilisation".

Chief Solidarity negotiator Andrzej Steczynski stressed that the most important point of the agreement was that neither side could refuse involving itself in disputes. Situations would be avoided where the government side was represented by a low ranking official without the necessary competence.

Steczynski added that the document would allow the union to put into effect legislation which the government sometimes failed to do.

KPN Discusses Possibility of Joining Cabinet

LD3005183692 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 30—Leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Leszeki Moczulski proposed his candidature for the post of defence minister during his meeting with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Saturday.

He also suggested the candidatures of Andrzej Ostoja-Owsiany and Adam Sandauer for Ministers of Justice and Communications, respectively.

Government spokesman Marcin Gugulski said that a document containing KPN's programmatic and personnel postulates will be presented by the prime minister to the leaders of the ruling coalition parties. "Further decisions depend on the stand of the parties supporting the government," Gugulski added.

Moczulski told reporters that KPN also proposed 12 other persons for the posts of vice-ministers and heads of central offices, for example, the one dealing with the property of the defunct Communist Party (PZPR).

Asked whether he expected that the president might object his candidature for defence minister, Moczulski claimed that Lech Walesa declared KPN people as "good for this post."

According to Moczulski KPN's programmatic postulates are "very comprehensive and pertain to many areas of the economy, politics, state administration, human resources and the reconstructing and restructuring of the government."

KPN demands an essential restructuring of the government to be carried out within three months, including a reduction in the number of ministries at least by one third. The government must also have a possibility to increase the budget deficit to 8-10 percent without asking parliament for consent.

Asked about KPN's stand on the motion of no-confidence in the government, Moczulski said it will depend on whether KPN will join the ruling coalition or shift to opposition. In his opinion there are now much better prospects for KPN to join the coalition than six months ago, that is when the Olszewski cabinet was formed.

Citizens' Committees Support Walesa, Olszewski

LD0106092292 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, may 30—The National Conference of Citizens' Committees on Saturday pledged its support for President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Olszewski.

The conference expressed deep concern over the sharpening political struggle in the country and called for an end to controversies and divisions.

The committees deplored the fact that the highest state authorities are attacked in this struggle, including "the president elected in free elections and the democratically nominated prime minister."

"We are a social movement which with great committment supported Lech Walesa in his bid to become the country's first citizen," read a resolution adopted by the

conference. "Also Prime Minister Jan Olszewski has received firm support of our movement," it added.

The conference also firmly supported the Sejm (lower house) resolution to unmask the former Secret Service (UB [Urzad Bezpieczenstwa] and SB [Sluzba Bezpieczenstwa]) agents now holding high public posts. "This is an indispensable condition to end with our communist past," said another resolution.

Acting Defence Minister Romuald Szeremietiew called on the conference not to believe those who claim that the government is passive. "We want to use the time that is offered to us under the present circumstances for the good of Poland," he declared.

Farmers' Solidarity Backs Olszewski Government

LD3105144192 Warsaw PAP in English 1600 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—The Solidarity Union of Private Farmers supports the Jan Olszewski government and is against the possible takeover by the so-called small coalition, the union's spokesman Cezary Jagiello told reporters on Friday referring to the tri-partite coalition of the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal- Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG).

According to the presidium of the union, UD and KLD are responsible for "destruction of Polish agriculture." Their striving to take over power is an attempt at "destabilizing the state," the unionists charged.

Therefore, leader of the union Roman Wierzbicki ruled out the possibility of participating in the formation of a new cabinet if Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UD leader, becomes prime minister.

The declaration adopted by the union says that "the government of Prime Minister Olszewski, in full cooperation with the president, stands a chance of leading the country out of the deep crisis and economic stagnation as well as the political deadlock."

The unionists are of the opinion that the government's agricultural policy reflects the aspirations of the union whose stand is supported by farmers all over the country.

Prime Minister Praises Former Finance Minister

LD3105125792 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] At its session next week, the Sejm will consider the prime minister's motion in connection with the resignation of Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski.

Speaking at the Sejm, Prime Minister Olszewski stressed that the motion for dismissal was caused by the finance minister's resignation. He recalled that the resignation had been in protest of the law that would put any finance minister in an unworkable situation. The prime minister noted that Olechowski's resignation is, as he called it, a great loss for the government and the state. He recalled Minister Olechowski's personal involvement in the defense of the budget and his stance toward the Constitutional Tribunal rulings.

Government Defends Right To Supply Moldovan Army

AU3105154892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 31 May 92

["Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement on Russia's Accusation of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1992—In connection with the release of the Russian Federation's National Defence Ministry over the Moscow Television Station and the central radio stations on May 30, 1992, that accuse Romania of supplying Moldova with weapons, the spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is empowered to state that "from the standpoint of Romania, as a sovereign and independent state, the Republic of Moldova has the same rights as all the other republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Russian Federation included, to have an army of its own. According to Romania, one should clearly discern between the creation of own armed forces, a process that proceeds in all republics of the defunct Soviet Union, and the use of force in the zone of conflict, where, of course, measures of weapons control may be covenanted, based on negotiations between the parties concerned.

"As far as we are concerned," the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman stresses, "we think that in view of creating its own armed forces the Republic of Moldova may apply to anyone, Russia and Romania included, and Romania does not keep secret its readiness to help.

"We would have welcomed a clear stand as regards the cessation of the activity of the 14th Army troops that, taking action in the districts left of the Dniester, in the Republic Moldova, either outside political and military control or deliberately, have armed illegal formations that conduct activities against a sovereign state, the Republic of Moldova, and even got directly involved in support of those formations.

"As far as we are concerned," the Foreign Ministry's spokesman concludes, "the Romanian Government is firmly involved in supporting the political process underway for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the districts on the left bank of the Dniester in the Republic of Moldova, hoping that the other governments involved in this process too, will show equal responsibility, so that it may lead to peaceful settlement in the area."

In connection with the concrete elements referred to by the release of the Russian Federation's Defence Ministry, the Romanian Foreign Ministry's spokesman adds that "it results from the information supplied by Romania's National Defence Ministry that certain transport means and pontoon bridges were supplied on a commercial basis, an action of which the Bucharest military attache of the Russian Federation too, was informed. No other deliveries of armoured means were made. Likewise, there is no military adviser from Romania in the territory of the Republic of Moldova. The only military from the Romanian Army in the Republic of Moldova are the 24 military observers at Tighina (Bender), sent under the quadripartite foreign ministers' understandings.

Spokesman Denies Officer Captured in Dniester

AU2905204492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Concerning the news published in today's issue of ISVESTIYA, which says Dniester guards arrested a armed Romanian officer dressed in civilian clothes. The Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman Traian Chebeleu made the following statement:

[Begin Chebeleu recording] Nothing can surprise us any more in this respect. The avalanche of such news lately is meant to make people believe that Romania is militarily involved in the Dniester conflict. Everything will be considered all right if it serves to justify the presence of the 14th Army in the Republic of Moldova.

The way I see it, this latest so-called news item fits into the same old campaign perpetrated by the written and audio-visual press in the Russian Federation, that is, the campaign launched to justify keeping the 14th Army on Moldovan territory. But as the facts have demonstrated, it is actually the 14th Army which is the main destabilizing element in the conflict zone.

I would like to assure you that the only Romanian military personnel in Moldova are those who were sent to participate in the quatripartite teams of military observers. We checked with them today and verified that none of them has been arrested.

Chebeleu on Official Recognition of Bosnia

AU3105173592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1405 GMT 31 May 92

["Statement by Romanian Foreign Ministry Spokesman on the Recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1992—"The act of recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina is in harmony with the Romanian Government's stand on principle in connection with the Yugoslav crisis, relying on the observance of the right to self-determination of the peoples in the Yugoslav republics," said yesterday Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"The member-countries of the European communities, just like most of the European states and the United States, as well as numerous third-world countries have already recognized the newly independent state. As a matter of fact, Bosnia-Hercegovina was admitted to the United Nations, which thus consecrated its joining the international community of states with full rights.

"We are greatly worried about the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, about the recourse to violence, the intensification of fighting," T. Chebeleu also said. "I

would say that that is precisely why the statement of recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina is extended with an appeal addressed by Romania's Government to the three ethnic communities toward the cessation of hostilities and a negotiated settlement of their problems."

Senator Comments on NATO Meeting, Image Abroad

AU3105201192 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 27 May 92 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Oliviu Gherman, vice president of the Senate, by Mihai Fabian; date and place not given: "Domestic Political Interests Should Not Be Transferred Outside the Country"]

[Excerpts] The spring session of NATO's parliamentary organization was held in Banff Springs, Canada, from 14 to 18 May. For the first time, leaders of the Western states and representatives of the former Warsaw Pact member states faced each other at the conference table. We asked Oliviu Gherman, vice president of the Romanian Senate and head of the Romanian delegation to the NATO session, to give some details on the proceedings for our readers. Of course, the first question dealt with whether Romania made a positive impact at Banff.

[Fabian] Is Romania looked upon more favorably now? Is it better understood and are people more prepared to believe that it acts in good faith?

[Gherman] I believe so, and I will tell you why. First, I am thinking of the opinions expressed during the meeting that there is no justification for differentiating between the Central and Eastern European countries. Romania, it was clearly emphasized, is one of these countries, equal with the other neighboring countries which, as a matter of fact, are constantly striving to isolate themselves in the well-known "triangle" (Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary) [passage omitted] The session also pointed out the need to truly become acquainted with our country's potential. Another issue that was finally clarified is that Romania does not need humanitarian aid, but rather integration in the European economy through foreign investment.

[Fabian] Regarding Romania's image abroad, do you not think that one should also bear in mind the "contribution" of certain outstanding politicians of the moment, who remind us of the stands taken by certain opposition members a year ago?

[Gherman] Your question is very direct. I want to state it clearly that, in my opinion, domestic political interests should not be transferred outside the country, and I profoundly regret that a political battle that must decided by us here is transferred to the fora of various international organizations. In this respect, I would like to make available to the press all the statements made along these lines by Petre Roman, whom, as a matter of fact, I have always valued as a man of broad culture and openness. I believe that the political battle should be resolved by us here, in our interests, and not through statements that can hardly enjoy true support in a region where people might look upon us with suspicion. [passage omitted]

Journalists' Association Wants SRI Chief Removed

AU2905115692 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 21 May 92 p 1

["Note" from the Steering Committee of Romanian Journalists' Association; place and date not given: "The Romanian Journalists' Association Asks for Mr. Virgil Magureanu's Demotion]

[Text] The National Conference of the Romanian Journalists' Association [AZR] has notified the public about the serious danger posed by the presence of Mr. Virgil Magureanu, as the leader of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], for the democratization process in Romania. There is incontestable proof that he has established, coordinated, and directed a political police, placed in the service of President Iliescu and the group that is currently ruling the country. At the end of the proceedings of the National Conference, the AZR issued a communique in which it calls for the demotion of the SRI director. Meanwhile, Mr. Virgil Magureanu has attacked the democratic press in a despicable way, violating the law at the same time. The AZR Steering Committee insistently requests that Mr. Virgil Magureanu be immediately removed from office and asks both the Parliament and the General Prosecutor's Office to begin an investigation about his actions.

[Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 21 May on page 3, under the headline "Mr. Virgil Magureanu's Immediate Removal" carries a report on the above note and adds the following note signed by the ROMANIA LIBERA reporter Sorin Rosca Stanescu, who was accused of being a Securitate informer:

"Although the Steering Committee of the AZR made a different decision, I have decided to give up my AZR membership and my membership in the AZR National Council. This decision was caused not by a feeling of guilt toward the branch of democratic journalists but by an incontestable truth, namely that the public scandal of great proportion stirred around my person might affect this organization which enjoys a countrywide and international prestige. By no means should such a thing happen."]

FDSN Bucharest Branch Supports Iliescu

AU3105173292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1531 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1992—The Democratic National Salvation Front's [FDSN] Bucharest city conference was held on May 31. Six foreign guests joined the 587 delegates.

An appeal to all social categories was read out in opening the proceedings, stressing that the FDSN was not a party of class interests but it addressed now all those whom it disappointed in the two years of transition: "We cannot lie, we cannot promise, but we can think together and work together" the appeal showed.

The report, statute and platform-program presented at the conference showed that the FDSN was a centre-left party pursuing to help changing Romania into a modern and democratic society, in line with the ideals of the December revolution. The problems discussed included the need to reconsider the reform for the restructuring and recovery of the national economy based on programs of social protection for all, the continuation of the transition to the market economy.

A coordination council of 27 was elected, plus four alternate members, with Mircea Porojan as chairman.

A message to the FDSN all-country conference was read out in the end, mentioning that the Bucharest city organization was "ready to further sustain the state of law, a social state as stipulated in the Romanian constitution." The signatories of the text also sustained Ion Iliescu's nomination as presidential candidate.

Ratiu President of World Union of Free Romanians

AU3105173092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1534 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/5/1992—The third congress of the World Union of Free Romanians ended in Bucharest, on May 31, with the election by secret ballot of the Steering Committee and of the president.

Ion Ratiu won a landslide presidency with 862 out of the 899 valid ballots.

According to the statute, the ten-person committee comprises Romanians with residence both in Romania and abroad, on a parity basis.

Ion Ratiu told ROMPRES that he was sure the Union is now "more powerful and more united than ever. I believe our assembly, by its impressive attendance and by the importance of the decisions demonstrate the vitality of our organization and the wish of its members to further work for democracy in Romania."

Republican Party Confers on Elections Strategy

AU3005161692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1253 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/5/1992—On May 28 and 29 Bucharest was the venue of the proceedings of the National Council of the Republican Party, which, as the press department of that party announces, discussed the party's tactics and strategy in the campaign for the election of Romania's parliament and president, its stance on domestic events and on international developments of concern to this country, and aspects related to that party's platform-programme and its position in Romania's political arena.

The following ideas emerged from the debates: The Republican Party will maintain its social-liberal position and outlook on the economic and social programme for Romania's transition to a market economy. Emphasis was placed on the need to maintain the centre position of the party in all tactical and strategic actions and it was shown that the Republican Party was willing to cooperate with all moderate centre political forces. In that context the problem was approached of possible alliances for the parliamentary elections and for the country's future government. Any idea of cooperation with extremist or chauvinistic, left or right political groupings was rejected.

The National Council of the Republican Party decided to make its own nomination for the presidential elections.

Iliescu Promotes Loyal Military Officers

AU3105200192 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 May 92 p 1

[A.M. Press article: "Swaps of Generals"]

[Text] President Ion Iliescu recently conducted a large-scale replacement of cadres within the armed forces leadership, exchanging certain generals and high-ranking officers with others whom political circles believe to be more loyal to him. In the month of May along, for instance, 11 generals—one lieutenant general and 10 major generals—have been placed on reserve status through presidential decree. Within the same context, six other colonels have been promoted to the rank of major general in reserve, that is, pensioned and practically confined to civilian life. At the same time, 11 colonels have been promoted to the rank of major general and filled the vacant positions.

Leaders React To UN Sanctions; Sarajevo Calm

Serb Leader: Muslims 'Sabotaged' Talks

LD2905165192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 29 May 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—There are two ways to end the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis: either through political negotiations within the framework of the conference on the constitutional order in Bosnia-Hercegovina or through the defeat of one side, Radovan Karadzic said at the international press center in Belgrade today.

The leader of Bosnian Serbs presented his impressions from the Lisbon conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, stressing that the other option was unacceptable. [sentence as received] Karadzic added that the leader of the Bosnian Muslims unfortunately wants and calls for war.

The Serb delegation and the hosts in Lisbon were convinced that the last round of negotiations would end in agreement and with the signing of an agreement about the main map and maps of three national cantons, on normalization of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and on setting-up legal bodies of power.

The Muslim representatives sabotaged the conference this time too, by refusing to talk about maps, and they forced the conference to end by attributing the tragic events in Sarajevo to the Serbs, Karadzic said.

He added that the Serb representatives will not give up their demand that an international commission investigate the whole tragic incident which, according to first findings, the Serbs cannot be behind, Karadzic assessed.

He criticized the media for not reporting that a convoy of humanitarian aid arrived in Sarajevo yesterday, because this confirms that the road blockade has been lifted.

According to Karadzic, economic sanctions against Serbia are dishonorable, unjustified, and counterproductive. He noted that there is a great confusion in the West about who is fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina and underlined that Serbia was not involved in the Bosnian events.

Regarding the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he was resolute: "Serbs will never, and under no threat of sanctions, accept Muslim domination." [passage omitted]

Asked why he energetically rejects the possibility of Serbs being involved in the tragic event in Sarajevo and is silent about the bombardment and destruction of Sarajevo, Karadzic replied "the Serb side never shoots first, it only shoots in defense."

He added that only objects that opponents turn into military fortresses are targeted.

This is the reason why we asked for EC observers to come to the Serb parts of the town and establish who is attacking and who defending.

Karadzic underlined that the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are ready to place all of Sarajevo under UN protection.

Asked whether Muslims and Croats are ready to resume talks at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic said: "The only chance for the salvation of the people in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the continuation of political negotiations for which, it seems, the Croats are ready, and the Muslims are ready only on paper."

Talking about the Serbs' readiness to persevere in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic explained that Serbs do not want the war, but that they will have to defend themselves and are ready to do so if they are given no alternative.

He specified that that was defense, not conquest of territory. If the choice on war became unavoidable, the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina will have to introduce additional war taxes and seek assistance from Serbs abroad, Karadzic said.

Answering the question of his relationship with Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic and of whether the rumors about their alleged disagreement are correct, Karadzic said that Bosnian Serbs are disappointed about the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], since many ammunition factories and a vast amount of weaponry have fallen into Croatian and Muslim hands.

However, Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina live in autonomy as well as Serbs in Serbia. "If our positions are not always the same, that does not mean that the two leaderships are in dispute," Karadzic stressed.

He could not comment on Biljana Plavsic's statement yesterday on the evacuation of JNA members, noting that he has not yet heard any details about it.

He remarked, however, that the whole event was very unfortunate, and that the death of even one single man is tragic.

The world public has not reacted to Izetbegovic's Islamic declaration—this was Nikola Koljevic's answer when he was asked whether that book, which explicitly states the aspirations of its author, has been translated and distributed to all embassies.

Serb Leader Questions Interruptions

LD2905173892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1602 GMT 29 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, May 29 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Momcilo Krajisnik requested on Friday [29 May] in an open letter that the foreign participants involved in the

resolving of the Yugoslav crisis pay more attention to the circumstances and motives which are constantly interrupting the European Community (E.C.)-mediated conference on the political organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"The Serbian side always insists on the continuation of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina which being held under E.C. auspices, but the violence usually starts a few days before, or during the conference," said Krajisnik.

"Whenever there is a cease-fire violation, the conference is put off or called off," said Krajisnik.

As an example, the letter cites May 27 when the conference was interrupted because the Moslem side accused the Serbs of being directly responsible for the explosion in Sarajevo which killed 16 and wounded over 100 persons.

A day before the tragedy the Moslem side announced its withdrawal from the conference, said Krajisnik.

Regarding the massacre Krajisnik gave some details, "a Moslem television crew visited the spot half an hour before the tragic event. They were on the spot immediately after the massacre. Our crew arrived several hours later."

"If there is a good will to investigate all the circumstances of this tragedy, it is possible to arrive at the truth by ballistics and medical expertise," said Krajisnik.

"If it is not easy to find out who did what, and if your involvement in the resolving of the conflict is a sign of your goodwill, the next step is to take a good look into the motives of such conduct," said Krajisnik.

Moslems are one of the three nations living in Bosnia-Hercegovina along with the Serbs and the Croats. They do not accept a confederal organization and ethnic divisions, but urge for a unitarian Islamic state in the middle of the Balkans.

Momcilo Krajisnik's letter is addressed to Lord Carrington president of the conference on Yugoslavia held under the auspices of the E.C., president of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina Jose Cuoileiro, UN Secretary-General Butrus Ghali and his special envoy to Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and E.C. ministers.

Serbs Propose 'Family for Family' Swap

LD2905183192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 29 May (TANJUG)—The Crisis Headquarters of the Autonomous Region of Krajina has decided to enable all Muslims and Croats wishing to move out to do so under the conditions of reciprocity, the Headquarters reported today. That means that a "family for family" principle would be used to carry out a mass migration of the three nations on the territory of the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Crisis Headquarters, as its statement says, had a large number of Muslims in mind, several thousand of them from the municipalities of Prijedor, Bosanski Novi, Sanski Most, and some other municipalities, who volunteered to move to central Bosnia, whence, if the local authorities allow, a corresponding number of Serbs would move to Krajina. The Serbs, according to the same source, have not been allowed to move and have been held hostage.

The statement also says that the Crisis Headquarters will decisively oppose all attempts at forceful eviction, and has called on the leadership of the other two national parties—the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina—to get actively involved in the migration process.

Silajdzic Calls For UN Sanctions

LD2905201692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] United Nations, 29 May (TANJUG)—Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs of the newly admitted UN member Bosnia-Hercegovina, has written a letter to the UN Security Council chairman asking for the immediate imposition of economic sanctions against "the aggressor forces in Belgrade," because he "doubts that even a military intervention and the sufferings of the people would force the regime in Belgrade to abandon its ultranationalist fantasies of the creation of a Greater Serbia by military force."

Silajdzic also proposed that—due to the serious human tragedy and without waiting for sanctions—Sarajevo airport be placed under international control and that it be used for food deliveries and other humanitarian aid for the victims. He also suggested that these convoys be given military protection.

Silajdzic was also in favor of placing all heavy weapons of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the Serbian paramilitary forces under international control and preventing Yugoslav military aircraft from flying above the "international air space of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

In the letter, which was circulated as an official document of the UN Security Council, Silajdzic claimed that the number of victims from the attack on Sarajevo's market two days ago was twice as high as the number that was published.

Bihac Communities Agree on Division

LD2905213692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2106 GMT 29 May 92

[Excerpts] Bihac, 29 May (TANJUG)—The leaderships of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), and the Croatian Democratic

Community (HDZ) of Bihac reached an agreement this evening with the specialist working groups for territorial organization of this municipality on the territorial division [of Bihac], TANJUG's correspondent from this town reports. [passage omitted]

Each side will present the agreement to the executive bodies of its own party, and the final decision is expected to be coordinated at the next meeting, to be held on 31 May.

Agreement was also reached on ensuring normal transport conditions on all roads as soon as possible.

'Recording' of Order To Bomb Sarajevo

LD2905225792 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] There is not a single sensible man in the world, a serious politician, or a respectable country that has not recognized the culprit behind all these crimes. For the worst informed, here is one more piece of evidence: an audio recording of the order to bomb Sarajevo. The protagonists are Major General Ratko Mladic [commander of the Serbian forces in the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina], Colonel Mirko Vukasinovic, and other war criminals.

[Begin recording] [Mladic] Hello, General Mladic. Is the line all right?

[Vukasinovic] Colonel Vukasinovic.

[Mladic] Vukasinovic!

[Vukasinovic] Yes, I am listening.

[Mladic] Ratko, is it?

[Vukasinovic] I beg your pardon?

[Mladic] Ratko Vukasinovic, is it?

[Vukasinovic] Mirko, Mirko.

[Mladic] Are you up there (?on the watch tower ready to use artillery?)

[Vukasinovic] Yes, everything is ready.

[Mladic] Which weapons have you got ready?

[Vukasinovic] I have those up there in (Kresa).

[Mladic] What can you hit?

[Vukasinovic] I can fire all the way to the garrison.

[Mladic] Do not fire at the garrison. Can you pound Velesici?

[Vukasinovic] I can.

[Mladic] Are your guns pointed toward the target?

[Vukasinovic] They are.

[Mladic] Are they, or aren't they?

[Vukasinovic] They are, they are.

[Mladic] How much time do you need?

[Vukasinovic] Five to ten minutes at the most.

[Mladic] And tell me, can you pound Bascarsija [historic part of Sarajevo]?

[Vukasinovic] I can.

[Mladic] What?

[Vukasinovic] Yes, no problem.

[Unidentified speaker] Take it easy, (?Salimir).

[Mladic] Keep the Presidency and the Assembly buildings under steady, direct fire, and pound slowly in intervals until I give the order to stop.

[Vukasinovic] Yes, sir!

[Mladic] Bye.

[Vukasinovic] Bye. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Mladic] Was the Presidency pounded?

[Unidentified speaker] It is going to be. I am waiting for it any moment now.

[Mladic] Has it been pounded? I was told that it had been!

[Unidentified speaker] No, it has not been.

[Mladic] Why the hell did he lie to me then?

[Unidentified speaker] No, no, he did not. He is going to now. He told me that he would start in two or three minutes.

[Mladic] Alright, tell me when he fires a salvo.

[Unidentified speaker] Yes, sir. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Mladic] Load everything you can! Do you hear me? Load! Right now!

[Unidentified speaker] Vukasinovic, Gen. Mladic wants to talk to you.

[Vukasinovic] I am listening.

[Mladic] What are they firing on from up there on (Kresa)?

[Vukasinovic] They are pounding the Presidency and the Assembly.

[Mladic] The Assembly?

[Vukasinovic] The Assembly and Bascarsija

[Mladic] Bascarsija?

[Vukasinovic] Yes, and before that they pounded Velesici and Pofalici.

[Mladic] Pound Velesici, Bascarsija again from both sides and the Presidency.

[Vukasinovic] Yes, sir.

[Mladic] Three salvos on each of them. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Mladic] Hello, is that Mirko?

[Vukasinovic] Yes, it is me.

[Mladic] From (Kresa).... [changes thought] Where is your best artillery firing?

[Vukasinovic] From (Kresa).

[Mladic] Is it from (Kresa)?

[Vukasinovic] Yes.

[Mladic] Is that the best situation?

[Vukasinovic] It is.

[Mladic] What do you suggest we pound?

[Vukasinovic] I have ordered the three salvos that you ordered a little while ago.

[Mladic] Alright, you have ordered that. But which targets do you suggest?

[Vukasinovic] I would not pound the same targets any more. I would transfer fire to Pofalici.

[Mladic] No, don't. Why do you want Pofalici?

[Vukasinovic] Because we have fired only one salvo at Pofalici.

[Mladic] Pound Velesici, Velesici.

[Vukasinovic] Velesici?

[Mladic] Velesici, yes. Pound Velesici and Pofalici as well. There are not many Serbs there. Pound around (Humska Gora). And around Djuro Djakovic up there. Do you understand? But go for artillery [word indistinct] so they cannot go to sleep, to drive them crazy. Fire another salvo at the Presidency.

[Vukasinovic] Aye, aye sir. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] Six shots hit right in the middle. Yes, I am shooting here.

[Second unidentified speaker] Alright, I won't bother you. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Serb Leader: Europeans Fueling War

LD3005124892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The EC must apply pressure on Alija Izetbegovic to renounce his war option and to force him to continue with what already has been agreed, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said in an interview with TANJUG.

In Karadzic's view, this is the only solution for a peaceful outcome of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis which, he said, should be contained through political negotiations.

Airing his impressions of the recently adjourned conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina's future organization, Karadzic said that "it is fairly easy for Alija Izetbegovic to sabotage the conference and the EC's project, something that he already has ostensibly accepted."

Karadzic explains such conduct in light of the fact that Izetbegovic has not faced any pressure or threats since Serbia is being blamed for the continuation of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is why Izetbegovic is not motivated to establish peace, Karadzic assesses.

He reproaches the EC and the international community for discrediting themselves following their failure to see that Croatia's regular forces are waging war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Karadzic maintains that the pressure on Serbia is ridiculous and absurd since not a single soldier from Serbia is fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina while Croatia, which is deploying its regular troops, has not even been mentioned.

However, Karadzic does not believe in Europe's readiness to take steps on its own and force Izetbegovic to opt for a peaceful solution to the crisis. This is not because it is not unbiased, but because, he noted, it is solely and exclusively pursuing its own interests.

According to Karadzic, Europe is not a mediator, but a party with a vested interest. As long as it conducts itself in this way, it will strive to achieve its aims and interests. It is even ready, Karadzic maintains, "to wage war by using others and through its agents."

Unfortunately, this war already has been wrought on Yugoslavia's peoples. Therefore, the EC must be made clearly aware that in these lands it is regarded as a party with vested interests rather than an unbiased mediator, Karadzic stressed.

The Serbian people will have to be totally united in defending their fundamental interests—their people and their state. "This will force Europe to take the Serbian question in the Balkans seriously," Karadzic said, and noted that "experience has proven that no unjust solution in the Balkans has ever lasted for long, nor has it resulted in any good for anyone, as this question only bounces back on the agenda with even more urgency."

If Europe wants peace it must heed the interests of the Serbian nation as a whole and become engaged in devising a just and lasting solution to the Balkans question, Karadzic maintains.

Commenting on the extent to which military intervention in Yugoslavia is a matter of psychological pressure

rather than a realistic threat, Karadzic says that there is a realistic desire for it but that the threat itself is not realistic. He mentioned Lord Carrington's warning that the Serbs very successfully defied Germany's war machine for four years and added that Bosnia-Hercegovina's Serbs will succumb neither to political nor to military pressures.

Karadzic resolutely said that not a single foreign soldier can come to Bosnia-Hercegovina without the consent of its three peoples, that is without the Serbs' consent. In this context, Karadzic stressed: "The Serbian side will ban any foreign soldier from the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and if he does come, he will be treated as an aggressor and occupying force.

Speaking about what he calls the EC's bias in its approach to developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in Yugoslavia, Karadzic stressed that he is absolutely convinced that European public opinion is being mislead totally.

Karadzic claims, with the same degree of confidence, that European governments are not misinformed, that there is no mistake or confusion on their part. On the contrary, they know the whole truth, but are sacrificing this to their own interests.

The EC is gaining ground according to its designs at a time when world stability is in question. It is hurrying to gain a strategic advantage in the Balkans before Russia or other countries recover and become interested in this area, Karadzic said.

"There is nothing we Serbs can do but to persevere until our allies become interested in us. They will do so the moment they realize how strong we are; it is our duty to be strong," Karadzic stressed.

Reflecting again on the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Radovan Karadzic expressed his belief that Cutileiro's team sincerely believed in the conference's success. As far as other European factors are concerned, he believes that they regard the talks on the future of the Bosnia-Hercegovina state "as a farce just as, in their view, the entire Yugoslav drama is a farce."

Such a reversal, where drama and tragedy are perceived as farce is not rare in the theater. Nor is it in history, Dr. Radovan Karadzic said in conclusion.

Foreign Volunteers To Join Serbian Army

LD3005162192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—The first group of nearly 1,000 volunteers from the U.S., Australia and Canada are soon to join the fighting in defense of the Serbian territories wherever they were threatened, President of the Serbian National Council of Bosnian Krajina Vinko Stupar told TANJUG on Friday [29 May].

Bosanska Krajina is a region in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (SR BiH). The SR BiH was proclaimed by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs in response to the premature recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the European Community, i.e., without prior political accord of the three constituent nations—Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

Stupar, who is also plenipotentiary of the Serbian volunteers headquarters based in Canada, said the volunteers would not be Army of any one party.

"They are the Serbian Army, which is to replace their brothers, wives and children," he said and added that the volunteers from overseas would be put under the control of the respective commands of the Serbian territorial units.

Following the first group, of which many are descendants of post-war emigrants and have never been to their homeland, the arrival of other volunteers was also planned.

Their headquarters was formed in April, and its honorary president, according to Stupar, is Nikola Kavaja. A renowned emigre, he made an assassination attempt of former Yugoslav Communist President Josip Broz Tito.

The headquarters, Stupar said, received support also from leader of the Serbian emigres in America, Momcilo Djujic.

Croat extremist emigres, have from the start lent support to the election campaign of current Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. During the armed clashes with Serbs in Croatia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina, they fought in the ranks of the Croatian Armed Forces.

Foreign mercenaries from many world countries, as shown on a number of occasions by Serbian television, fought in the Croatian armed formations.

Serbian Side Decides To Halt Fire

LD3005190292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today adopted a decision to halt artillery fire, the Serbian news agency SRNA reports, citing a Presidency statement.

The decision, as the statement says, was made because the Serbian side had been accused of being the only one using artillery in the conflict on the Sarajevo battlefield.

Awaiting the continuation of political dialogue, the Presidency of the Serbian Republic has appealed to the Muslim side to halt artillery fire as well.

At the same time, the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has informed the inhabitants of Sarajevo that it is not responsible for the explosion on Vasa Miskin Street, which had tragic consequences and was used as a pretext for the interruption of the Lisbon

conference. The Presidency therefore has asked them to make their own conclusions as to who the culprit is, the statement of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina says.

Serbian Forces Vow Not To Respond

AU3005201692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 May 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At 1230 GMT Muslim paramilitary units opened fire from Dobrinja on the airport in Butmir. They were shooting for more than two hours. The Serbian army and militia did not respond, expecting UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members who had been informed of the attack to finally see who does not care about peace and who is not allowing the airport to be opened for humanitarian purposes. The Muslims obviously want the airport to be surrendered to them in order for weapons and fighters to reach Sarajevo and not food.

The command of the Serbian army of Bosnia-Hercegovina made the decision this afternoon not to respond to provocations with artillery fire. The order was given from at 1500, so that from now on it will be known exactly who is firing the shells. Shells will not be fired from Serbian positions. UNPROFOR should check and report to the world organization on who is using artillery in Sarajevo.

At the same time, the state leadership of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is considering the possibility of another unilaterally proclaimed cease-fire, so that Europe and the world can clearly see who does not want peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbs Allege Croatians Take Hostages

LD3005232692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2154 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina issued a statement today saying that members of the Croatian forces are holding "approximately 4,000 persons, including approximately 500 children under seven years of age" captive in a rail tunnel near Bradina, south of Sarajevo, the Serbian SRNA news agency reported this evening.

The statement of the goverment of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina adds that the citizens are being held captive by members of HOS, armed formations of the Croatian Party of Rights, who took two Serbs from the group of citizens, Pera Mrkaljic and Zoran Djordjic, poured gasoline over them and set them on fire.

The government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has appealed, the statement says, to UNPROFOR representatives, the International Red Cross and the UN Commission for Refugees to visit this area immediately and mediate in the release of the captives.

Bradina is approximately 15 kilometers south of Sarajevo on Sarajevo-Mostar road. Serbian territorials said recently that Bradina had been encircled by Croatian forces for quite some time.

Silajdzic Says Intervention Only Solution

AU3105141492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 May 92

["Excerpts" of interview with Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Meta Vajgl; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vajgl, in Slovene] Mr. Silajdzic, nearly all of the international political subjects are engaged on the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis, the EC, the UN Security Council, therefore, one can hardly imagine a higher degree of internationalization. Only a military intervention could be a higher degree of internationalization. What is your opinion?

[Silajdzic, in Serbo-Croatian] Unfortunately, it continues to be demonstrated that a military intervention is the only possible solution. Bosnia-Hercegovina has been depopulated just like Croatia, people were displaced and everything of any value, such as factories, entire factories, aircraft from the Soko factory in Mostar, were practically stolen and (?taken to Bosnia). This is how the economic aspect of this war is being paid for.

However, in order to understand the aggressor's true nature, we must put Bosnia-Hercegovina in the context of the aggression toward neighboring peoples, toward Kosovo, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is an aggression that has its aims, which are expansionism and creation of a Greater Serbia at any price. Therefore, I cannot see how any protest on a moral basis could stop a program that has these two aims, that is to say, to expand the territory of Greater Serbia and at the same time preserve the current political regime in Serbia. This is a regime that could not have survived as a communist regime, it can only survive as a nationalistic regime through such a program.

Serbs Accuse Croatia of Attack

LD3005200692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1824 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Trebinje, 30 May (TANJUG)—The government of the Serbian autonomous region of Hercegovina issued a public statement this evening, which said:

"The government of the Serbian autonomous region of Hercegovina is hereby informing the domestic, and particularly foreign, public that the independent Republic of Croatia, a new member of the United

Nations, launched an attack on the territory of the Serbian autonomous region of Hercegovina at 0600 GMT today, 30 May 1992.

"At the above time, an artillery attack was launched on the regional capital of Trebinje. Because the seat of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Command is in Bileca and part of it is based in Trebinje, we hoped they, as the peacekeepers, would inform the people of the world about this aggression.

"Unfortunately, intentionally or by chance, it was simply not possible to contact them today. We maintain that it is not difficult to determine whether the world organization encouraged Croatia to do so.

"Forced to defend ourselves by all available means, we are calling on the people of the world to reexamine their consciences at this time, when Croatia is launching an attack on innocent civilians with the support of the European Community, United States, and now the United Nations," the government of the Serbian autonomous region of Hercegovina says in its statement.

Serbs Deny Attacks on Dubrovnik

LD3005221992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Trebinje, May 30 (TANJUG)—The command of the Hercegovina corps of the army of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, based in Bileca, denied on Thursday [28 May] that its units on Friday [29 May] opened fire on Dubrovnik.

The alleged attack on Dubrovnik was reported at length on Friday by Croatian radio, which is under a censorship decree. The radio said the old city [words indistinct] bombed by Serbian-Montenegrin forces.

There were no killed or wounded in the artillery attack on Saturday [30 May] morning by Croatian forces on Trebinje, the eastern Hercegovina center predominantly populated by Serbs, TANJUG's reporter said.

The news agency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, SRNA, reported on Saturday that Croatian artillery fired from Srdj and Osojnik at southern parts of Trebinje and hit a petrol station, a refrigerator warehouse and the old railway station.

According to Serbian sources, around 15 shells were fired at Trebinje from positions in Osojnik, on the border between the Dubrovnik and Trebinje municipalities.

Until the lifting of the blockade of Dubrovnik four days ago, Osojnik was controlled by units of the Hercegovina corps of the army of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which subsequently withdrew. The gesture was aimed at contributing to the peaceful settlement of the crisis in this part of Hercegovina.

Croatian forces, however, do not appreciate the gesture and are responding with attacks.

The government of the Serbian autonomous region of Birac, eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, defined the borders of the region on Saturday and sent an invitation to the repesentatives of three neighbouring municipalities—Tuzla, Zivinice and Kladanj, with predominantly Moslem and Croatian populations—to "in a peaceful way together draw up an agreement on borders and on the peaceful and safe moving out of Moslems from that region."

The government of Birac said in its statement that it decided on the move after "the series of crimes carried out recently by Moslem extremists against the Serbian people in the region."

The government of Birac also sent a request to the authorities of Tuzla, Zivinice and Kladanj to enable the safe departure and moving out of all Serbs from their territories, the statement added.

The crisis committee of the municipality of Zenica, central Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is controlled by Moslems and Croats, on Saturday introduced rationing.

People will only on the basis of special cards and at designated places be able to buy smaller quantities of basic food stuffs.

For more than a month, there have been no deliveries of food to Zenica, not even those earlier contracted and paid. Food stocks in homes and state reserves have run out.

Presidency Welcomes UN Sanctions

LD3105164892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 31 May 92

[Slavko Rako report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] Colonel Wilson, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander, paid a visit to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, this morning and conveyed to him the UN secretary general's message on the adoption of the decision to implement sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e., Serbia and Montenegro. At today's session, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency concluded that the sanctions have political, economic, and military aspects, and that they also are reflected in the field of culture and sport, Presidency Secretary General Mile Akmadzic said at a news conference in the international press center in Sarajevo. He also conveyed the statement that the sanctions are useful and well received in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and said that the condemnation of the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina has now taken on official form.

Mile Akmadzic also told journalists that the UNPROFOR has launched an initiative for a new cease-fire agreement, which should come into effect at 1600 GMT tomorrow, if the agreement is signed. He said that both the aggressor and the defenders have expressed their consent to this.

I would like to stress that through the resolution adopted yesterday by the UN Security Council on the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, the world finally has concluded that the aggressor has to be dealt with in a more energetic way than before, Mariofil Ljubic, vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, said at the international press center.

After the resolution, the aggressor forces in Serbia and Montenegro, i.e., in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, cannot but realize that they can no longer deceive the world public and political factors in the world, Ljubic said, and stressed that all they can do now is to withdraw from Bosnia-Hercegovina. On the other hand, if Milosevic's regime continues its brutal aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, the UN Security Council will be compelled to carry out a military intervention, which we also will officially insist upon because the aggressor forces cannot be halted without a military victory, Ljubic said. [passage omitted]

Government Thanks UN for Action

LD3105165892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 31 May (TANJUG)—The incomplete government of Bosnia-Hercegovina sent a letter to the UN Security Council today expressing gratitude for the sanctions adopted against Serbia and Montenegro.

The letter adds that "it is necessary to liberate all parts of the territory of the republic and establish legal authorities there," and "to put under the control of the legal Bosnia-Hercegovina bodies the weapons of the Yugoslav army, and those which the aggressor forces have taken over."

The letter was signed by Government President Jure Pelivan.

Izetbegovic Comments on UN Sanctions

AU3105193992 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 92

[Interview with Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic by unidentified announcer on 31 May; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Izetbegovic] Last night, the residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina (?as well as) much of the world were holding their breath while waiting for this resolution, but of course the Bosnia-Hercegovina residents were especially anxious.

In any case, this is a great [words indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina and its residents; this is a great victory in our struggle for independence and naturally, vice versa, this is a great defeat, a great moral and political defeat of the enemy, of the aggressor.

Many have asked themselves [passage indistinct] in their commentaries so far whether this resolution was too late and whether it will suffice. For some the resolution is too late, of course. I believe the resolution was not too late for Bosnia-Hercegovina as a whole. The resolution will [words indistinct] to preserve its independence, integrity, unity, and freedom. Naturally this resolution arrived late for many people. It might have even arrived too late for us, here. For Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state, however, [words indistinct] this resolution definitively marks the beginning of the end of a certain chauvinist, fascist policy of the Serbian leadership.

I am sorry these sanctions will hurt the Serbian people, the innocent Serbian people. In any case, however, the resolution in its present form had to be passed despite the fact that innocent residents and many people will be [words indistinct] with the policy [passage indistinct] fascists.

Whether it is too late or not could naturally be debated further. I can say that, figuratively speaking, the beast suffered a fatal blow, the beast suffered a fatal blow regardless of how much it may wriggle before it dies. I naturally cannot know this, but I believe that with this resolution a final blow was struck [words indistinct] to a certain policy that I called a beast because it has behaved in a beastly manner toward the people, the civilian population, and the ordinary [words indistinct].

[Announcer] Is there (?any concrete hope) for Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] [Words indistinct] of Bosnia-Hercegovina but I believe this policy and its negative consequences will leave its trace on the rest of the former Yugoslav territory.

This resolution also demonstrates that the truth simply cannot... [changes thought] One cannot [words indistinct] therefore neither can the truth. You see, here in Bosnia-Hercegovina we were subjected to a blockade, an information blockade. Almost all of our [word indistinct] and television transmitters were [word indistinct] and, as you know, redirected or put out of order. There was a blockade of roads, [word indistinct] for our list of liberation [words indistinct]. In a great part of Bosnia-Hercegovina they cannot do it even today. The truth found its way to the world, thanks to a group of brave journalists, and finally thanks to the very fact that the truth simply cannot be, the truth about the struggle against [word indistinct] cannot be defeated. The truth reached the necessary places, reached the ears and the eyes of numerous ordinary and responsible people, and as the outcome of the voting shows, the entire world knows what is actually happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina, although we sometimes fear this is not known as a result of blockades. You see, this resolution demonstrates that the truth is nevertheless known. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who made it possible by their objective reporting and [word indistinct] bravery that this truth reached the necessary places. Further, this resolution has shown something that

is particularly important for us, the residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina, namely that we are not alone in the world. The entire world is standing behind us—Russia demonstrated this—while behind the aggressors and attackers [words indistinct]. They remain alone.

I do not know whether I could say [words indistinct] that they are looking into each others' eyes. But [word indistinct] complete [word indistinct] world stepped on our side. This is, of course, great encouragement for our [word indistinct] for the freedom in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Finally, I can say that now that the world is standing behind us, now that the world has stepped on our side, it is our [word indistinct] that we ourselves do something that is needed, that we rise as one to defend the republic and its democratic institutions. Therefore, we should not merely look around, that is, [words indistinct] across the borders, sea, and mountains looking for somebody who will help us. Now that the world is behind us we must do it ourselves, we must raise ourselves to defend the republic. This would be my message. [passage omitted]

Serb Leader Criticizes UN Sanctions

LD3105160492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1419 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Presidency of the Serb republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said on Sunday [31 May] that the United Nations sanctions called on the "Serbian people to disregard their interests, abandon their historical and ethnic regions and move to Serbia."

The Serb news agency of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina SRNA reported Karadzic as saying that "regardless of the sanctions, Serbs will do everything to ease the sufferings."

"All options are open—any political agreement and solution, but a Serbian defeat is out of the question," Karadzic said.

He believes that the "Serbian people are not understood, deprived of the right to self-determination which has been granted to all the others."

Karadzic pointed out that the "whole world knows Croatia is sending its regular Armed Forces to Bosnia-Hercegovina, using them to achieve its strategic goals through violence, while Serbia, although it is not involved in the war in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina (Republic of SFR of Yugoslavia), is most brutally punished."

Inter-ethnic clashes between Muslims and Croats, on one side, and Serbs on the other have been raging in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for nearly two months. The war broke out on April 7, when the European Community recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of the Muslim-Croat coalition despite the will of the Serbian people, which is one of the three constituent nations in the republic.

After that, Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina declared a Serb republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in territories where they are the majority population.

The Yugoslav Presidency pulled out all members of the former Yugoslav People's Army who are citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, the republics which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Only few cadets remained in army barracks which have been besieged by the Muslim-Croat forces.

At the same time, there are around 35,000 members of the Croatian Armed Forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Regardless of all the injustices, the Serbian people will survive, Karadzic said, adding that "only great hardships bring out great force in the Serbian people. Our aims are just and can be realized by political means. To do this we do not need war and we did not start it."

"Sarajevo is our city and we will never give up our part of Sarajevo," Karadzic said, adding that the Serbian people will "never accept a Jamahiriyah", meaning the Islamic republic which Muslims want to form.

He blamed the "militant Muslim leadership" of imposing war, suffering and devastation on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"Bosnia-Hercegovina is our homeland and we shall defend the Serb republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will line up on the borders of our country and then the whole world will realize that we are not aggressors, but defenders," Karadzic said.

Number of Refugees Increasing

LD3105220492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2103 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—Several hundred Serbs refugees from central Bosnia-Hercegovina towns of Kladanj, Zivinice and Banovici, arrived in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina town of Zvornik on Sunday [31 May], the Zvornik local authorities said.

There were already several thousand refugees in this border town.

Serbian territorial units of the Kladanj municipality claim Muslim forces formed there two camps for Serbs. Over 1,000 innocent people, mostly women, children and the elderly, were being held there, the same sources said.

The number of refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina was on the rise also in Montenegro, following the latest deterioration of the situation on the Dubrovnik-Hercegovinian battle zone.

Refugees were speedily pouring into the Montenegrin town of Niksic from Trebinje and its surroundings in eastern Hercegovina.

A total of 263 people from Trebinje and 87 from Sarajevo, Mostar and Konjic registered with the Red Cross organization in Niksic on Saturday [30 May] and Sunday.

A third of the latest arrivals from Bosnia-Hercegovina found shelter in Podgorica, Danilovgrad and other Montenegrin towns, the remainder were put up at Niksic, a Niksic Red Cross official told TANJUG.

An estimated 1 million 200,000 persons from the territories of the former Yugoslavia have become refugees.

Over 300,000 have fled Bosnia-Hercegovina so far due to the war.

Calm Day in Sarajevo Reported

AU0106100492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Slavisa Materic report from the Sarajevo Security Services Center]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] If one were to judge according to the beginning of this day, one could expect the day to be calm, at least in this part of the city. Namely, shooting from light and a little heavier infantry weapons is heard only occasionally and for a short time. Since we were unfortunate enough to have had to live through the chaos caused by those big lethal shells, this crackling resembles the buzzing of mosquitoes. Yesterday was different, however. Anti-aircraft machineguns shot at the old city and shells were even falling at about 1900 GMT. Fortunately, there were no casualties or (?greater) damage. Because of the shelling, houses were on fire in the districts of Butmir and Sokolovic Kolonija, as well as in Dobrosevici and Ahatovici. Unfortunately, there were some casualties as well. The OSLOBODJENJE building was shelled again last night. I hope I will have no reason to report to you more frequently today.

Correction to Milulic Comeback

AU2205124792

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Mikulic Allegedly Making Comeback After Isolation," published in the 27 May East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 39:

Make sourceline read: AU2205124794 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 May 92 p 3 (deleting extraneous words)

Tudjman Addresses Nation on Independence Day

LD2905210792 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 May 92

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb on the occasion of independence day—live]

[Excerpts] Dear men and women of Croatia in the homeland and abroad; citizens of the Republic of Croatia, I congratulate you on statehood day. [passage omitted]

Despite the victories won in both war and politics, the war on our territory is not over yet, but I do believe that now, with the help of the international community, it will end soon. The remnants of the former Yugo Army and Serbian Chetnik and terrorist units are now withdrawing from the areas that they occupied.

We can presume that the UN peacekeeping forces will accomplish their task, see off the remainder of the Yugo Army, disarm Serbian units, and thus make possible the establishment of the Croatian constitutional and legal system in these areas. If the implementation of the peacekeeping plan is hindered, Croatia, which is internationally recognized, would have every right—and today has sufficient forces—to quickly establish a legal system throughout its territory by itself.

We should keep in mind, however, that there will be no permanent peace until the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina ends. The Croatian and Muslim population is equally threatened there. Croatian areas, and we can thus say Bosnia-Hercegovina, were successfully defended thanks to the return of Bosnia-Hercegovina volunteers from the Croatian army and the comprehensive assistance from Croatia. The international community, which has learned a lesson from the barbaric aggression against Croatia and its spread to Bosnia-Hercegovina, is finally taking resolute steps to force Serbia and Montenegro to give up this aggressive, imperialistic war.

Croatia has recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We support the Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats' demands, which claim that Bosnia-Hercegovina can be set up only as a community of three constituent nations. That goal should be secured in all aspects, including territory. The European Community has proposed the same resolution at the Lisbon conference.

Our suggestion for Croatia to grant dual citizenship to the people from Bosnia-Hercegovina who wish to obtain it has met with great approval from the population. [passage omitted]

As soon as we liberate all parts of Croatia, we will hold elections to obtain an assembly in accordance with our new democratic constitution and to begin a radical restructuring of the entire state administration. [passage omitted]

UN Commander Sees No Problems for Operation

LD2805192392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1423 GMT 28 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The commander of the UN Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar, has expressed the conviction that the current difficulties and standstills will not seriously affect the overall UN peace operation in Yugoslavia.

In an interview published by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES on Thursday [28 May], Gen. Nambiar said the bulk of the UN peacekeeping troops had been deployed. He set out, however, that the logistics support was running late, which he said was why it was not possible to fix the date when the UN would assume the full responsibility in the areas placed under its protection.

Approximatley 14,000 blue helmets from thirty or so countries are to be deployed in four UN protected areas (UNPA) in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK). The Republic of Serbian Krajina comprises the municipalities within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where Serbs constitute a majority. The Serbs proclaimed the RSK [words indistinct] they rejected the secessionism of the Croatian authorities and wished to protect themselves against a genocide similar to the one committed against them in those same areas during world war two, at the time of the fascist puppet-state "Independent State of Croatia."

Gen. Nambiar said the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was slowing down the withdrawal of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) from the territories of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The UNPROFOR commander said the main point was that there was a total absence of confidence between the warring sides, and that there was instead intolerance and even hatred.

Gen. Nambiar said the presence of European Community monitors and the UN was to provide guarantees to the population which feared what would happen after the pullout of the former JNA.

The UNPROFOR commander said in the interview to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES, however, that the UN peacekeeping forces were unable to resolve what depended on the domestic environment and key protagonists in the war euphoria, and underscored that negotiations, coupled with efforts of all sides and leading politicians, were the only way of restoring mutual trust.

Developments in Areas of Confrontation Reported

Sides Reach Agreement on Deployment

LD0106125592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Knin, 1 June (TANJUG)—Conducting reconnaissance missions, members of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] today began their mission to establish peace and control over the cease-fire in the southern sector—the Dalmatia and Krajina battlefield.

This was stressed in a statement issued by the main headquarters of the territorial defense of the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs. The agreement on the deployment of the blue helmets was reached after intensive talks between the leadership of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and General Satish Nambiar, the UNPROFOR commander, held in the past days.

According to the statement, members of the peace force will begin their mission by conducting reconnaissance in the areas under the control of the Krajina units in the immediate vicinity of the front line, while the actual deployment is expected within the next few days. The Krajina leadership, however, is hoping that the forces will be deployed along the front lines because, as the statement says, "Peace reigns within the Krajina borders."

As of today, an EC observer mission will be permanently stationed in Knin to monitor the cease-fire, to mediate in talks with the Croatian side, and to offer good offices at the request of and as agreed with the Krajina side.

Knin Command Frees 15 POW's

LD3105052392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] As it was agreed in negotiations between representatives of the Croatian government and the Command of the Knin Corps two days ago, Croatian soldiers and civilians who had been kept in Knin prisons were set free in Zitnic today. Fifteen Croatian soldiers and four civilians were liberated. The next exchange of POW's will take place in Zitnic on 6 June. Both negotiating sides have until 2 June to submit lists of demands and lists of the POW's in their prisons.

Last Soldier Leaves Vis

LD3005195692 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] We have just received the news that at 1930 the last Yugo-Army soldier has left the island of Vis.

Damage From Dubrovnik Shelling

LD2905171692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] A heavy artillery attack on all parts of Dubrovnik lasted from 1240 to 1630. Shells were even falling on the city's historic center, where many cultural monuments were hit and badly damaged: the Dubrovnik cathedral, the church of St. Blaise, the Franciscan church, (Gunduliceva poljana), palaces in Getaldic and Bozidarevic Streets, Stradun [main street in the old town] and the Orthodox church. According to initial information, several dozen shells fell on the center of the old town. Apart from the old town and Dubrovnik's suburbs, the aggressor launched an artillery attack on Mokosica in Rijeka Dubrovacka, Dubrovnik's largest suburb, which was hit by over 50 destructive missiles. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Army is pounding Dubrovnik from the temporarily occupied areas in the vicinity of Cilipi airport, and also from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina—the Trebinje municipality, the seat of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of eastern Hercegovina.

According to information from the Dubrovnik emergency service at the St. Blaise hospital, four slightly injured civilians sought medical help. They are all out of danger. There is no information yet on the consequences of the destruction of Dubrovnik. The attack continued after 1630, but with less intensity.

Dubrovnik Under Renewed Attack

LD3105082292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] About 20 minutes ago, more precisely at 0940, a new artillery attack on Dubrovnik started, again from the stronghold of the Yugoslav Army, which is what it calls itself, in the still-occupied Cilipi airport, and also from other positions of the Serbo-Chetnik army in neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina. Destructive missiles again are falling on all parts of the city. Residents of Dubrovnik are spending their third day in shelters because the general alert—sounded at 1214 on Friday [29 May]—is still in effect. Consequently, it was not possible to establish the extent of damage, even today, but given that many residential buildings were hit, as well as cultural monuments, the damage is certainly substantial. In the course of yesterday 19 people sought medical help in the emergency clinic of the St. Blaise hospital.

Dubrovnik 'Fiercly Attacked'

LD3105163692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] The enemy fiercly attacked Dubrovnik today. Around 1,000 heavy artillery shells landed on the city, about 100 of them falling on the old city. Four persons were wounded. Using the hot line, just before 1200 GMT, the command of the Boka Naval Sector and the command of the Dubrovnik defense agreed that the cease-fire should be mutually respected. At the same time, the Yugo-army halted its attacks from the occupied airport of Cilipi. The cease-fire agreement is not being respected by the Chetniks from Bosnia-Hercegovina, who are still shelling the city from their positions in

Trebinje municipality. The Boka Naval Sector claims that it is not cooperating with these units of the Serb army and that it has no connection with them, so the attack is still in progress but with lesser intensity.

Economic Situation Worsens in Knin Krajina

92BA0943A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 92 p 12

[Article by S. Radulovic: "Living From Day to Day"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] Most of the Krajina collectives and the so-called superstructure are supporting themselves thanks to aid from Serbia, while the population is surviving by coping in various ways; the selection of goods is sparse, there is less and less food, and the funds for supporting refugees are almost exhausted; instead of arriving, capital is leaving Krajina.

The roots that the Serbs were offered before the war as the price for a "complete community of Serbs" has become not only a symbolic part of everyday life for the residents of Krajina, but also too high a price for the present political status of a watchtower that is neither in heaven (a heavenly Serbia) nor on earth (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]). Economic categories have been disrupted for a long time because of Topcider's purchase of social peace, and loyalty to the Yugoslav option. Most of the Krajina collectives are supporting themselves thanks to occasional aid payments from Serbia, and the population's subsistence threshold is being maintained by Yugoslav army donations. Now, with Krajina's transfer to the federal budget, an attempt is being made to resolve Krajina residents' survival "systematically," with 21 billion dinars promised, a quarter of which has already been provided, as reported.

Temporary Coping

It is clear, however, that the counterproductive printing of money cannot cover the needs for a longer period. On the other hand, the presence of the war on Krajina's borders, the mobilizations, the emigration of the population... represent complicating circumstances for any sort of attempt to revive the economy, and thus create its own capital formation. One should also bear in mind the fact that most of the opstinas of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], almost all of the ones in the area of the former Krajina SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region], were on the list of underdeveloped communes in the Croatian Socialist Republic.

There is less and less food, the selection of goods is sparse, and the funds for supporting refugees are almost exhausted. Peasants are surviving thanks to production for their own needs, but the surplus that they take to market is modest, and does not guarantee feeding the so-called urban population. Assuming that the UN peacekeeping operation will be carried out and there will be a demobilization, thousands of people in Krajina would be left without military earnings or donations. To see what this means, it is sufficient to cite the example of Knin, which had 13,000 people employed before the war, more than some opstinas have inhabitants. The largest collective in Knin, TVIK, is almost ceasing production. Railroad transportation (Knin alone had 2,000 railway workers) has been interrupted, except for symbolic short routes for carrying passengers, which otherwise is not profitable for the railroads.

Citizens' enormous debts for unpaid electrical bills, rent, and other municipal expenses are indicated by one of the ways of coping temporarily, which in turn hurts those employed in those industries and hurts the maintenance of production and services. Without its own production, the entire so-called superstructure (public services, health care, pensions, and other funds) depends entirely upon the ability of Serbia or the FRY to bear the burden of financing them, but the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina shows that there as well, there are more and more Serbian areas whose inhabitants are expecting similar aid....

Social differences are being intensified by the drastic decline in the standard of living. This was the reason for the recent march by Benkovac veterans against the hotel facilities there, with the explanation that everyone had to bear the burden of the war equally. Then came an additional mobilization, in which not even managers, officials, directors were spared.... The same thing has happened in Knin and other towns. The absence of any selection based on the criterion of maintaining production and work wherever there is justification indicates, at the same time, the first symptoms of a policy of "equal stomachs," which is characteristic of a "postrevolutionary" stage in which the basic value category is military achievement.

The Authorities Do Not Like Roots

The authorities in Krajina, however, have secured themselves from both social and military criteria. It is being said openly—and it has also been demonstrated by the Knin retirees' protest—that pension payments were late because the funds were transferred to the RSK government's account in order to pay officials' salaries. The principle for the payment of those salaries has been taken from the corresponding law of the Republic of Serbia, and their size is obtained by multiplying the cost of labor for the past month by the appropriate coefficient, which ranges from 5.1 for ministers to 7 for the president of the RSK. This is more than enough that they do not have to think about roots.

Premier Zdravko Zecevic recently stated that Krajina had its own resources, people, and reliance upon Serbia and the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is, very briefly, a sort of program for this government. The resources are not in dispute, but without high-quality equipment and in view of the present situation, they cannot be enough to meet the needs and support the population. Reliance upon Serbia, in the way that it is

being done now, does not offer any long-term prospects, and under the present circumstances one can only speak symbolically about reliance upon Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Consequently, the key "supports" do not have any real foundation, and in view of the current presence of armed conflicts, it is unrealistic to expect an influx of capital from outside, even from Serbs abroad, even though it was loudly announced at one time. In practice, capital is leaving Krajina. Wealthy individuals are creating a retreat in Serbia, and banks with their headquarters in Belgrade are exclusively focusing on citizens' savings at their Knin branches, without even thinking at all about investing funds in the economy here.

The criticisms that the government has not developed an economic program are unfounded, because every program has to be based on realistic criteria. Consequently, the only "program" is the one of an individual nature, which applies to all citizens—coping from day to day.

Journalists Protest Trials of Colleagues

LD3105182992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Knin, May 29 (TANJUG)—A group of journalists in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) on Friday [29 May] sent a protest to the Justice Ministry of the Republic of Croatia, demanding that the announced "political trials" of their colleagues in Zagreb and Split be called off.

The protest was signed by the Knin correspondents of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK, the Belgrade dailies POLITIKA and BORBA, the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK and radio-television Serbia, and by the journalists of the Serbian radio of Knin.

Knin is the political centre of the republic of Serbian Krajina which comprises three Serbian regions within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and has been placed under U.N. protection.

The protest said that trials of journalists, which it said were in evidence also in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, "have acquired astonishing proportions in Croatia."

The signatories of the protest said that the Croatian head of state, Franjo Tudjman, instigated and participated in the unprecedented campaign against journalists.

The office of the public prosecutor of the Croatian port city of Split has opened an investigation against six well known journalists for "spreading false news" and giving rise to "the feeling of personal insecurity" among citizens.

Three journalists of the Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA are, for instance, under investigation because of a satirical article, headlined "same school, same class, same pupil," illustrated with photos of Hitler, Stalin, and Tudjman.

The upcoming trials have disturbed the Croatian public because they practically mean the reintroduction of the so-called verbal offense from the communist era.

The protest of journalists working in Knin called for the "suspension of the political orders which annual elementary intellectual and human freedoms in the Croatian state."

Representative Seeks Diplomatic Ties With UK

LD3105140592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Mar 92

[Text] Drago Stambuk, the representative of the Republic of Croatia in Great Britain, today submitted to the Foreign Office the constitutional law on human rights and liberties and on the rights of national minorities and ethnic communities and minorities in the Republic of Croatia for the attention of British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Stambuk believes that at the last meeting of the Croatian parliament devoted to constitutional law, Croatia fully met the stiff demands set by the European peace conference on Yugoslavia, thus eliminating the final barrier on the road to establishing full diplomatic relations between Croatia and Great Britain. Great Britain—which will be the EC chairman as of 1 July—is particularly keen to open its embassy in Zagreb before that date.

International

Presidency Terms UN Draft Resolution 'Unjust'

LD3005182792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May [date as received] (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Yugoslav Presidency (chaired by Dr. Branko Kostic, Presidency vice president), the Security Council's draft resolution on sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), i.e., Serbia and Montenegro, was discussed. The Presidency adopted a decision to send an urgent telegram to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

The telegram reads:

"Dear Secretary General,

"We have discussed the Security Council draft resolution on sanctions against the FRY, i.e., Serbia and Montenegro, prepared by Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the United States with great concern and deep disappointment.

"If that text of the resolution is adopted, it would constitute an unprecedented instance of punishing a country, which is a UN member, in the following circumstances:

"—The country has no soldiers nor armed units outside its territory;

"—It has not carried out, nor is it carrying out, any form of mobilization of armed forces;

"—There are approximately 400,000 refugees on its territory, including several tens of thousands of Muslims who sought refuge from the cruelties of the civil war and who have been adequately provided for;

"—It is sending all types of humanitarian aid to the threatened population in Bosnia-Hercegovina [BiH];

"—It has publicly and energetically used all its political influence to halt the conflict in BiH, and has launched many other activities for a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

"Peace and security reign on the territory of the FRY. We have not undertaken nor encouraged any activities that would lead to the intensification of conflicts in the neighborhood. On the contrary, we are doing everything possible to hinder and halt them to reestablish peace and safety for everybody.

"The greatest responsibility for the tragic clashes in the BiH lies with its authorities, which have, despite their constitution, and without an internal political agreement on the lives of the three constituent national communities, taken a series of measures and actions internally and internationally, which have caused the bloody interethnic war with tragic consequences.

"The FRY has done everything in its power to prevent and halt these clashes and to see that these problems are resolved in a political and peaceful way. At the same time, it has tried for its part to avoid any interference in the clashes—all citizens of Serbia and Montenegro who found themselves on this territory performing their military service at the time the conflict broke out were recalled immediately, with the exception of a small number of mainly young people, up to 17 years of age, who were at the training center in Sarajevo, who were blocked in and forcefully prevented from returning to the FRY.

"This is a unique example: an aggression is being carried out against a country without an army being sent to that country, and that citizens of the country proclaimed to be the victim of the aggressor, regardless of their nationality, are seeking shelter on the territory of the aggressor.

"The way in which attempts are being made to accuse and punish the FRY cannot contribute to efforts to halt the clashes in BiH, because they were neither caused nor encouraged by the FRY.

"By committing itself to efforts to preserve the joint homeland, the Serbian and Montenegrin nations—together with members of the other nations on the territories, which include Serbia and Montenegro, put emphasis on peace and support for reaching a peaceful solution to all problems on the territory of former Yugoslavia, as being their primary interests.

"The FRY confirms once again that:

"First, it observes the territorial integrity of all the other republics and that it has no territorial claims to any territory.

"Second, it will do everything in its power to immediately halt the clashes and to ensure safe international control and protection from interference of any other side in these clashes.

"Third, it will effectively prevent every military organization and operation against BiH from the territory of the FRY. To this end, it calls for UN monitors to be deployed on the FRY-BiH border, who would establish effective control over it.

"Fourth, it urges the creation of conditions for an effective and unhindered dispatch of humanitarian aid by opening up all transport communications in BiH for its passage, including placing Sarajevo Airport under international control.

"Fifth, it hereby again expresses its strong opposition to every forceful eviction of the population and every change of the national structure of population and reiterates its call for the return of all refugees to their homes as soon as possible.

"We are convinced that concrete control can easily show that accusations against the FRY are groundless. Therefore, we are asking for concrete control to be carried out

in the field of the justifiability of accusations being made before any measures are adopted. In this regard we again invite a delegation from the Security Council and yourself, Mr. Secretary General, to find out for yourself in the FRY that our efforts to stop the war in the BiH as soon as possible are sincere, as well as our efforts to save its citizens from further suffering and its material wealth from destruction.

"Instead of the proposed sanctions, which we consider unjust and unprecedented, a real contribution to the resolution of the crisis and aid to Yugoslavia, as an active member of the UN since its founding, would be the urgent organization of an international conference on Yugoslavia in which permanent members of the Security Council, an envoy of the UN secretary general, the EC and CSCE chairmen, and all those involved in Yugoslavia would take part. The conference's aim would be to establish stable guarantees for the implementation of a final agreement on the negotiated settlement of the crisis, including the currently most serious crisis in BiH."

In addition to this urgent telegram, the Presidency also sent to the UN secretary general the following concrete proposal regarding the content of the work of the Conference on Yugoslavia:

a) All sides involved opt for a settlement and for overcoming all problems in the current crisis in BiH and on the territory of Yugoslavia exclusively through dialogue and cooperation, avoiding confrontations and the use of force.

b) All three warring sides in BiH accept an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and establish a joint tripartite group for controlling the operation in which UN representatives will be included.

c) Simultaneous with the beginning and the implementation of the operation, the disarming and demobilization of members of the armed formations of all three national communities in BiH will begin and continue to the point that will satisfy the needs for legitimate defense and contribute to regaining minimal mutual trust. In that process, the FRY leadership expresses its readiness to take over and transfer heavy weaponry from BiH to the territory of the FRY, with the prior consent of the leaderships of all three constituent nations in BiH.

d) Simultaneous with the implementation of points b) and c), the conference on BiH will continue on the basis of a cantonal or confederate organization of the three constituent units, on which a tripartite consensus should be reached within not more than three weeks after the continuation of the conference.

e) The current conference on Yugoslavia will continue its work on the basis of equal treatment of both options: The option on the independence of the seceded republics, and the federal option for the republics which have decided to remain in the common state of Yugoslavia.

f) Parts of the former SFRY will form normal interstate relations as soon as possible, leading to special mutual links in the areas in which common interests have been expressed.

g) All states which have been created or which remained in the former Yugoslav territory have confirmed that they feel all international obligations which the SFRY assumed on the basis of reached and ratified international agreements, conventions, or consensus in all areas, and especially in the areas of human rights and rights of national minorities.

h) All these states which have been formed or which remain on former Yugoslav territory will immediately begin the drafting and implementation of measures to increase mutual trust, including the measures to reduce armed units or armament to the level necessary for legitimate defense and at the same level as armed forces in the immediate surroundings.

i) All states that have been formed or which remained on former Yugoslav territory will sign special bilateral and a mutual multilateral pact on friendship, mutual respect, and good neighborly relations.

Government Says Sanctions 'Inappropriate'

LD2905182692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 29 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—The already introduced and the newly proposed sanctions against the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, are an unprecedented form of pressure against a European country, as the Yugoslav Government said on Friday.

The Yugoslav Government said in connection with the draft UN Security Council resolution on sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro that the world organization was proposing "rigorous and inappropriate sanctions" against "a country co-founder of the UN and the Nonaligned Movement, a tested champion of world peace."

Sanctions 'Unprecedented Pressure'

LD2905194692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 29 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—The proposed U.N. Security Council sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were described as a form of unprecedented pressure on a European country by the Yugoslav Government on Friday.

The introduction of U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which comprises Serbia and Montenegro, has been proposed by the United States,

Great Britain, France and Belgium because of the alleged responsibility of the two republics and the Yugoslav Army for the armed clashes in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The truth is, however, that members of the three ethnic communities—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—and around 30,000 troops of the regular army of neighbouring Croatia, also a former Yugoslav republic, are engaged in fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, whereas members of the Yugoslav Army who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been withdrawn.

The Yugoslav Government said that the rigorous and inappropriate U.N. sanctions against a country co-founder of the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement and a tested champion of world peace could not be justified with an uncontrolled escalation of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Yugoslav Government said that that was all the more so since it, itself, had timely and more than once drawn the attention of the European and the world community to the real causes of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and had urged a peaceful state-political solution of the crisis in that republic on the basis of an agreement of the three constituent nations.

The Yugoslav Government said it would do everything in its power for the cessation of hostilities and destruction on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Yugoslav Government instructed its agencies to analyze together with the competent ministries of Serbia and Montenegro what situation would be effected by the proposed sanctions and to recommend adequate measures. The recommended measures will be considered by the Yugoslav Government together with highest republican officials.

Government Sends Message to Islamic Countries

LD3105183692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—All three nations—the Serb, Muslim and Croat—were suffering equally in the painful Bosnia-Hercegovina drama, and the blame for the clashes between them should be shared because they failed to acknowledge mutual legitimate interests, a Yugoslav Government message to prime ministers of Islamic countries said.

The message in connection with the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina stated understanding for the concern of the Islamic world over the tragic events in this former Yugoslav Republic, but warned also of the harmfulness of asserting the guilt of only one side.

The brunt of the accusations was being addressed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ), Serbia and the Yugoslav Army, and various sanctions proposed. This only made difficult the process of seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis, the message sent on behalf of the Yugoslav Government by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic said.

As noted, the SRJ was doing all it could on its part towards effecting a peaceful solution.

Pressures aimed at only the Serbian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well as at Yugoslavia, may result in even graver, even disastrous, consequences and spreading of war over the entire Yugoslav territories, the message said.

The Yugoslav Government stated the hope that the Organization of Islamic Conference would objectively assess the situation in Bosnia- Hercegovina and, in this context, define its stands on future action.

Official Terms Sanctions 'War Conditions'

LD3005223992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The volume and sharpness of the economic and other sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council this evening cannot be compared to the blockade in 1948. They are worse than any other sanctions we have ever faced and can only be regarded as war conditions, Bozo Jovanovic, acting federal secretary for foreign economic relations, told TANJUG this evening.

The world will be open only for certain services such as post, telegraph, and telephone, and commercial exchange will include only food and medicine.

As decisions of the UN Security Council are binding on all members of the United Nations, there will be no "cracks" for economic contacts with the world, Jovanovic said, explaining that general stagnation will occur, which will result in enormous difficulties in production and supplies.

Jovanovic stressed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia depends on imports much more than the former SFRY, because almost 30 percent of the gross social product is earned in foreign trade. Some sectors of the economy, as Jovanovic said, will reach a complete standstill, and the entire economy will be pushed only to survive.

Sanctions Will 'Seriously' Affect Economy

LD3105185192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1801 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—The stiff economic sanctions against Yugoslavia adopted by the U.N. Security Council on Saturday will most seriously affect the most vital part of the Yugoslav economy—export-oriented enterprises, Yugoslav businessmen agree.

According to a blitz poll conducted by TANJUG, businessmen mostly fear a halt in imports of raw materials and semi-manufactures and the cancelling of already concluded export deals.

A certain optimism was expressed only by the governor of the National Bank of Serbia, Bora Atanackovic, and the general director of the Yugoslav river shipping industry, Dusan Strugar.

Atanackovic said Serbia's foreign exchange reserves were in the Serbian National Bank's treasury.

"Despite the attractive interest rates in the world, we kept foreign exchange in Serbia," he said and added that, although not too high, the sum will serve for the most essential needs, above all the production of medicines and oil purchases.

The Yugoslav river shipping industry director warned that it was practically impossible to establish a blockade on the Danube, a river which flows through Yugoslavia for more than 500 kilometers.

"To block the Yugoslav part of the Danube means to stop traffic on the entire flow of this artery of the old continent," Strugar said and warned that "a blockade of the Danube has so far never succeeded."

The Yugoslav river shipping industry at this moment has six ships and a number of tow boats in international waters of the Danube. Each month, tankers of the shipping company transport around 150,000 tonnes of crude oil from abroad to Yugoslav refineries.

Most Yugoslav businessmen still do not know what will happen with their already contracted export deals. The tobacco industry of Nis has, for example, contracted the export of 45 million dollars' worth of cigarettes to Russia, and the electronic industry of the same city the production of cathode pipes for Western firms valued at 15 million dollars.

Yugoslav textile plants, which mostly export to the Western markets, will also be severely hit. The textile industry of Nis alone, according to first estimates, will suffer a loss of 15 million dollars and of Titograd, five million.

The tourist season is also uncertain. Yugoslav tourist agencies late last year already signed contracts for many thousand beds for foreign guests on the Montenegrin coast, one of the most beautiful parts of the Adriatic.

Parents Demand Evacuation of Cadets in War Zones

LD3105223492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 30 (TANJUG)—Members of the committee of parents whose children are still on military service in crisis regions in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia called on Saturday for the immediate, unconditional and safe evacuation of their children from war-torn areas.

At a news conference in Belgrade, the parents expressed dissatisfaction with the actions taken by the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia so far and demanded that it do everything to ensure the safe evacuation of soldiers.

The committee of parents is demanding that the return of soldiers and cadets be organized so that there are no casualties on any of the sides in the conflict.

Under a decision by the Yugoslav Presidency, more than 90 percent of the members of the former Yugoslav People's Army who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina by May 19.

Three barracks in the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital Sarajevo are still under blockade and in them are mostly cadets, youths under 17 years of age, whom the Muslim-Croatian para-military formations are holding as hostages of a kind.

One of the three, the Marshal Tito Barracks in the city center, was attacked on Saturday from all kinds of artillery and infantry weapons. Cadets, pupils of secondary military school between the ages of 14 and 17 are in the barracks.

Members of the Yugoslav Army are still in territories within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia only in regions where Serbs are a majority population and which have not yet been put under the control of U.N. peacekeeping forces.

Head of CSCE Yugoslav Delegation on Crisis

92BA0940D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 May 92 p 10

[Article including interview with Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic, chief of the Yugoslav delegation at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, by Branko Stosic, TANJUG reporter, in Helsinki; date not given: "Changes in the Country Are the Purpose of All the Pressures"]

[Text] Helsinki—A continuity meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE], whose main task is to prepare documents on transformation of the CSCE, became almost from the outset a "hostage to the Yugoslav crisis": For weeks, its participants have been concerned much more with the situation in Yugoslavia than with the future of the CSCE.

On Monday, there will be a new meeting on the topic of the Yugoslav crisis: A committee of high CSCE officials is to assess whether there has been an effect of its recent decision and to make "further decisions that will be necessary."

Dr. Vladimir Pavicevic, ambassador and head of the Yugoslav delegation to the CSCE, presents in this interview for BORBA his view of the way the examination of the Yugoslav crisis has gone so far, of the atmosphere and of the approaches which predominate and the possible further involvement and goals of the CSCE.

[Stosic] Everything that has happened in recent days indicates authentic odium toward Yugoslavia. You have faced frontal condemnation. Even in that atmosphere, however, you have had many meetings. You have responded to the offensive against Yugoslavia with your own offensive. Has that affected the outcome of the extraordinary meeting of the committee of high officials and the content of the last declaration on Bosnia and Hercegovina [B-H]?

[Pavicevic] Our delegation has really and constantly been very active. The result is the prevailing belief that a unilateral condemnation of Yugoslavia would neither be appropriate nor fair. Many people have realized, but unfortunately they have not accepted this, at least not officially, that both the Croatian Army and Paraga's extremists are most directly involved in the conflict in B-H and that the conflicts were actually provoked by the Muslim side. Certain of Yugoslavia's decisions and measures also had an effect—from recognition of borders, then the decision on withdrawal of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], all the way to preventing the infiltration of extremists into Bosnia.

Russia's stance, however, has had the greatest impact. Its principled and decisive position that expelling Yugoslavia from the CSCE solves nothing was decisive. This must be highly appreciated, especially because its delegation ended up alone against the entire CSCE and against all the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. Regardless of the fact that it was also protecting its own interests in doing this, this must be respected, and I believe that our people will not forget it.

In the situation of general boycott of Yugoslavia and the unprecedented pressure on Russia to give up its stance, Romania gathered its strength to express disagreement with the frontal condemnation, which also must be deeply respected.

Measures and Steps

[Stosic] This, it seems, was only one stage. What comes next?

[Pavicevic] Of course, after adoption of the Declaration on B-H, the delegations did not give up their concern with Yugoslavia, especially because the declaration of the EC came right on the eve of conclusion of the extraordinary meeting. In this phase, their consultations are going in two directions.

Along one, what is to be done at the Yugoslav side does nothing further to fulfill the demands of the Declaration on B-H, in particular the declaration adopted in Brussels. Along the other, what action is to be taken if the Yugoslav side reacts constructively on a broader scale and takes new steps in the direction of fulfilling the demands, which will have considerable influence, because there already is an awareness that something has been done?

It is my impression that the Community and others will draw up a list of measures and steps which are to be taken by 29 June in connection with the situation in B-H and other elements of the Yugoslav crisis. If they are not performed, there will undoubtedly be additional pressure applied, including bringing the "Yugoslav question" before the CSCE summit meeting so that then—if they do not come before—the strongest sanctions would be adopted.

[Stosic] The issue has also been raised in advance of the legitimacy of the upcoming elections in Yugoslavia. What does that mean?

[Pavicevic] That is another, parallel action, which will be fully raised only on Monday, at the beginning of the regular meeting of the committee of high officials on the basis of a letter from the chairman of the CSCE mission for human rights in Yugoslavia, the Swiss Professor Fleiner. He has made certain criticisms of the conditions under which the elections will be held.

It is clear that there will be broad and strong pressure brought to bear on Yugoslavia if it is felt here that the criticisms made have been ignored or if the delegations continue to be convinced, as some have already stated in public in the plenum, that conditions have not been brought about for fair and democratic elections, which is in violation of the provisions of the CSCE.

[Stosic] For the present, they are supported only by Switzerland and Czechoslovakia?

Unfulfilled Conditions

[Pavicevic] The plenum of the continuity meeting is not the place to debate this, much less to make a decision. Because this was an open meeting, a favorable opportunity was taken advantage of to announce a new offensive, urbi et orbi, but it will be fully staged only in the committee of high officials.

[Stosic] Why right now, as though there are not enough elements for pressure?

[Pavicevic] The position of all delegations I have contacted, even though a majority realized the need to hasten the elections, just as they recognized that the very creation of the new federation represents a step toward resolving the crisis, comes down to saying that the elections do not fulfill the conditions envisaged by the provisions of the CSCE. Some have told me openly that this is now an occasion, through acceptance of the criticisms of the CSCE, to really help Yugoslavia to

experience further democratization and fit into the new order in the true sense of the word.

Others say that this is a way in which additional pressure must be exerted to achieve the goal, regardless of the consequences, because this is an opportunity, perhaps the last one, to achieve this in a democratic fashion, within the country, without sanctions from outside.

[Stosic] Can we expect that all members of the CSCE will be united on this, just as they were on the condemnations in the extraordinary meeting?

[Pavicevic] I expect that all of this will be expressed in still more severe form in the debate. But many delegations believe that everything will depend on the steps taken by the authorities in the country in connection with the demands of the CSCE.

[Stosic] The verdict, then, has already been rendered? Is the United States behind this, and why?

[Pavicevic] It is my impression that this is not a verdict, but pressure for us to fit into the new European order. The United States wants Yugoslavia within the framework of the new international order, not outside it, and certainly not opposed to it. It has been saying this both publicly and in conversation.

I am profoundly convinced that Yugoslavia is necessary to many people in Europe and particularly to America. We ought to see this as the motivation behind the pressure, especially because the entire region of the CSCE has become unstable and the opening up of new crises is threatening peace and security on a considerably broader scale.

Above All, the Balkans

[Stosic] In the case of Yugoslavia, as far as the position of the United States is concerned, there has also been a kind of obvious anger, as though Washington expected something and was let down. Or is it just a question of an ideological approach?

[Pavicevic] The United States gives that impression. Unfortunately, even though in these times there ought no longer to be ideological approaches, this has been very much present in the American position, of which others have been taking advantage and stimulating, with the exclusive objective of pardoning the United States in that position, of strengthening the pressure further and "finishing the job" for them. It is a fact, however, that America has always been interested in Yugoslavia, at one time even had the role of a moderator and did not allow itself to go to extremes. It literally prevented the extremes and excesses.

[Stosic] What, then, is the motivation behind its change of direction? If the age of confrontation has passed, its interest in Yugoslavia must have changed or weakened.

[Pavicevic] The United States remains interested not only in Yugoslavia itself as an individual country, but above all in the Balkans, as a region of key importance to its position toward Russia, the Near East, the Mediterranean, but also toward West Europe and Germany itself. That is why they have always tended to have a point of support in the Balkans, relying on national interests, and that is why Yugoslavia has always been important for them. In the situation of the great turbulence in Europe and in the CSCE, which is now taking place and will continue until there is conformity with the new international order, a region of this kind in which American interests would also be protected remains of paramount importance to the United States.

Bulgaria is already finding its place, as is Romania. Greece, as a member of NATO, has a clearly established role, and even Albania is fitting in.

Yugoslavia can have a large role in this, depending on the changes whereby it fits into the new order, which undoubtedly would suit both the needs and interests of both Yugoslavia and the United States, Ambassador Pavicevic said.

Federal

Elections Begin in Serbia, Montenegro

AU3105151992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Elections for deputies to the Federal Assembly, the Belgrade Assembly, and the communal assemblies are being held today in Serbia. Vojvodina is also electing deputies to the provincial assembly. Serbians are also voting on the republic's state symbols, national anthem, coat of arms, and flag. Montenegro is electing deputies to the Federal Assembly.

According to initial reports by the republican electoral commission press center, the turnout in Serbia this morning has been good. Elections are being held peacefully and according to the plan. The first reports on the turnout are expected tonight. Complete information will be available tomorrow.

According to the forecasts of the communal electoral commissions, about 40 percent of eligible Serbs and Montenegrins voted in Kosovo and Metohija by noon. At many polling stations, like those in Pristina, there are long lines. In addition to Serbs and Montenegrins, voters included Yugoslav-oriented Muslims, Turks, and Romanies, as reported by the communal electoral commissions. The number of Albanians voting has been small.

Elections in Vojvodina are going without any difficulties and so far there has been not a single report on incidents or misunderstandings. This was stated by the secretary of the provincial electoral commission. According to unofficial information, the turnout in the majority of the communes was about 40 percent by 1000.

This morning 952 polling stations opened in Montenegro. The keenest citizens have already cast their vote for

one or more candidates for Federal Assembly deputies, depending on the constituency where they were voting. In the capital of Montenegro there are about 130 polling stations. The polling stations were opened on time everywhere, even in hospitals. Ten political parties are taking part in the elections in Montenegro.

Final Results Expected 3 Jun

AU3105110092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 31 May 92

[Dragan Stavljanin report from the Republic Electoral Commission]

[Excerpts] According to the first unofficial report by Zoran Dzumnic, spokesman of the Republic Electoral Commission, about 60 percent of the electorate voted in Serbia. [passage omitted].

The Republic Electoral Commission stresses that there were no excesses. The only misunderstandings that arose were those concerning the voting by refugees. Only persons registered in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 28 October of last year had the right to vote.

There are not many reporters here in the press center of the Serbian Electoral Commission, because we were told that the commission will not be able to announce the first election results tonight as they are now being processed in the constituencies, and because of the complicated procedure of counting votes, since the electorate voted for federal, local, and Belgrade city offices, as well as for Vojvodina assembly deputies and the state symbols of the Republic of Serbia.

The Republic Electoral Commission stated that it will announce the first unofficial results tomorrow. The final results will be announced on 3 June.

Serbia

Milosevic Urges U.S., Russia To Take Control

LD3005180792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic sent a message today to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush saying that everybody must have the right to self-determination, not just some people, and that there is more than one party to the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, not only one guilty side.

The message says that the mutual Yugoslav dispute should be solved constructively to give hope to everybody that the international community will take an unbiased position toward the Yugoslav nations.

The first step, the letter by President Milosevic stresses, is to halt the clashes and to put all forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina which are taking part in them under control.

The letter expresses the conviction that only the United States and Russia together can establish successful and acceptable control over the warring forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Consequently, a proposal is sent to Presidents Bush and Yeltsin for the United States and Russia to help establish joint command over the armed formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Republic of Serbia has expressed its readiness for full cooperation with peace efforts.

The message ends stressing that sanctions against only one side in the conflict cannot be just and can only encourage extremists or those who do not want to negotiate, which would—as it is stressed—only prolong this destructive civil war.

Jovanovic on Milosevic Letter

LD3005213592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2026 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 30 (TANJUG)—The proposal of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that the United States and Russia help "establish a joint command over the Armed Forces" in war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was in fact a demand for a "political intervention," Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic explained on Saturday.

Jovanovic told a news conference in Belgrade on Saturday that Milosevic's letter containing the abovementioned proposal was sent to the Presidents of the United States and Russia, George Bush and Boris Yeltsin, on Saturday.

Ethnic clashes in multi-ethnic Bosnia-Hercegovina (where Serbs account for 31 percent of the population, Muslims 44 percent and Croats 17 percent) have been going on for seven weeks.

Jovanovic told journalists that Milosevic's idea was to establish a "joint command over the Armed Forces of all three national groups in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Asked whether the proposal included the sending of foreign military forces, Jovanovic specified this was not what had been meant.

What was involved was the "vast political potential" which the United States and Russia could use to make the three sides in the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina agree on the establishment of joint commands, as one of the most important ways to stop the war and distrust.

Asked whether he believed Milosevic's letter to Bush and Yeltsin could alleviate or eliminate the announced sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, Jovanovic said he hoped "the international community and the Security Council will take into consideration" the Serbian president's proposal which, as he put it, "paves the way to dialogue and cooperation."

Jovanovic specified that the aim of Milosevic's proposal was to avoid further confrontation and enable a peaceful approach to the settlement of the problem.

The U.N. Security Council has, in the meantime, adopted a resolution to impose harsh economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro of former Yugoslavia, due to the continuation of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Despite numerous warnings that all three warrings sides were equally guilty for the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the international community has only accused Serbia of involvement in the war in the neighbouring republic, overlooking the fact that several tens of thousands of members of the Regular Army of Croatia, which is also a former Yugoslav Republic, have been fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina for several months.

Jovanovic recalled that the Governments of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, had been against violence and war and had urged for dialogue and negotiations concerning the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"That is the only way to overcome the crisis," Jovanovic said, adding that "just solutions can be reached" only by consensus of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Milosevic Terms International Pressure 'Violence'

LD3005205192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1933 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Paris, 30 May (TANJUG)—"Nobody is innocent in what is currently happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Actually, only the innocent civilian population, the victim of the civil war, is suffering in that tragedy." This was stated by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this evening in an interview with French TV Channel One.

In this context, replying to a question from French TV special correspondent Phillipe Blomberg, Milosevic added that "if I had the power, I immediately would order a cease-fire."

"However," he stressed, "this is a conflict between three ethnic minorities in that republic over which Serbia can have a possible political influence, but no military influence, because there is not a single soldier from our republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, the pressure on Serbia because of its alleged responsibility for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is typical pressure on a small country. I would say even violence, because we constantly have been labeled an alleged aggressor."

"Anyway, I have not heard the West mentioning military forces from other republics, although it very well knows who is involved and with what forces in the civil war. However, Serbia is being mentioned constantly, although literally speaking, there is not a single member of the federal army there."

Asked whether "Serbia intends to oppose the whole world," Milosevic said: "It is nonsense even to think about that because we are a small country." At the same time, however, he stressed that according to him "this pressure on Serbia came about because it chose the concept on its own internal set-up."

Milosevic Comments on Elections, UN Sanctions

LD3105104292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0946 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—The speed with which the FRY will be constituted depends on today's elections, Serbian President Slobodan Milosovic said, while voting in his polling station in Dedinje this morning.

Milosevic arrived at his polling station on his own at about 0900.

Having pointed out the importance of elections, the Serbian president explained to journalists that it was necessary to constitute the FRY as soon as possible, because the institutions of the new state must function normally. He added that this was a prerequisite for "establishing normal relations with the neighbors."

Commenting on yesterday's UN Security Council sanctions, Milosevic said that this was "the price we are paying for supporting the Serbs outside Serbia."

Asked by foreign journalists about the blockade, Milosevic said that Serbia would counter the blockade with truth.

Asked about accusations that "Serbia is the aggressor," Milosevic said: "I assume that every citizen of Serbia knows that they are meaningless."

These accusations, in Milosevic's opinion, cannot be sustained because, he said, "this mainly depends on the world, and not on us."

Asked whether he had an electoral message to the people, Milosevic said that he was voting for those he believed to be the best.

Prime Minister on 'Unjust' UN Sanctions

AU0106104992 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 31 May 92

["Exclusive" interview with Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic, by Maja Vojnovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vojnovic] Considering that we no longer have to do any guesswork, that is to say, the economic sanctions have finally been adopted, what is your view about all this now?

[Bozovic] Economic and political sanctions against our country are not only unjust, but will also inflict considerable damage on our economy. They were devised to

exert political pressure on Serbia and Yugoslavia with the aim of annulling the democratic will of our people to live in the common state of Yugoslavia and showing the responsibility, the alleged responsibility, of Serbia for aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina and help for the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is something that is built on lies.

The accusation of aggression is simply false and untrue. The accusation concerning help for the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in terms of food, humanitarian aid, and other help, is correct. We have been extending this help and will do so in the future, because we deeply believe that a just peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be achieved only if all three peoples see interests for a joint, peaceful, and just life in this solution.

[Vojnovic] Confirmation of this also lies in the two letters, including the letter of the Serbian Government, that were sent yesterday. Do you already have any reply, have these letters made any impact?

[Bozovic] These letters have made some impact on the institutions that are inclined to evaluate the Yugoslav crisis realistically and to make their assessments on the basis of the true situation. Unfortunately, in many centers, instead of the truth about the situation in Yugoslavia, interests have prevailed that are aimed at blaming Serbia and the Serbian people for the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, instead of exerting pressure on the representatives of all national groups in Bosnia-Hercegovina to lay down arms and search for a solution to the crisis through dialogue.

I would like to say that it is certain, and our citizens know this, that the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been withdrawn from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina and that only a small number of soldiers and students of military schools who are blocked in some military facilities are still there. Therefore, accusations that Serbia and Yugoslavia are the aggressor in Bosnia-Hercegovina are nothing but untrue.

We are convinced that, if the international community does care about peace and stability in this region, it must proceed from this truth in searching for solutions.

[Vojnovic] Regarding the measures, we now know exactly what they amount to. What, in your view, do these measures include, that is to say, what are the worst effects of these measures?

[Bozovic] It is certain that the economic sanctions will cause a whole string of economic problems, above all, they will be partly reflected in a drop in production and in other segments of the economy. However, a number of these measures were already applied earlier—and not only by Germany and some other countries—and they have also indirectly to all intents and purposes been on the table for the last two years.

We in the government, together with the business community, will formulate, and we have formulated, a whole string of practical measures aimed at moderating these consequences, proceeding from the recognition that in many ways the interest of capital can resist, I would say, avoid the unjust pressure of politics. On the other hand, we are convinced that these measures will not last long because the international community will simply have to face the truth about the situation and the fact that these measures will not in themselves resolve the problem of the crisis and the problem of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but it must react to the key causes of this situation and not punish Serbia.

[Vojnovic] Does this mean that the government will be taking some concrete steps, for example, tomorrow?

[Bozovic] This will not be anything special because, I would say, we expected this form of pressure and state enterprises and the government have been taking the appropriate measures in many sectors. It is now most important to set up organs of the federal government on the basis of the democratic elections which, I hope, have been successfully carried out today and create conditions for the adoption of a pragmatic program, an economic policy project, respecting the real restrictions that we have which would have the aim of reining in the present inflationary chaos and, in line with actual economic and social trends and the international environment, I would say, influencing these economic processes.

To put it simply, we will, regardless of the economic blockade, offer to international financial and other entities an economic policy project and project of economic changes in our country instead of adopting any defensive measures of self-isolation. These policies will have the aim of further market processes.

I think that it is nevertheless certain that the international factor is also faced with the fact that the measures which it has taken are unjust and do not resolve the problems because of which these measures were supposedly adopted and that it will find the strength, I would say, to establish these lines of communication because it is very difficult to believe that it is in Europe's interests in the long term to isolate a country that is in fact located at the heart of Europe and where many lines of communication naturally meet. Therefore it is most important that we do not waste energy explaining the situation, but use it to formulate a whole string of practical activities with the aim of moderating the consequences of these blockades.

Foreign Minister Says Sanctions 'Unnecessary'

AU3105160392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 92

[Statement by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] It is evident that other aims exist in the background which are not aimed exclusively at an abatement of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and at a political resolution of this crisis. We view these sanctions as an

unjust and unnecessary measure of a challenging nature, that was imposed at a time when there was no basis for it. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia not only expressed recently numerous good wishes and intentions for cooperation in order to achieve a generally acceptable political solution, but it also was disclosed that our side proposed several concrete measures which went even further than the demands expressed in previous UN Security Council resolution. Yesterday's documents, for example, contained so many new elements, including a whole series of new proposals and measures, that they definitely merit careful examination and that a position toward us be formed on the basis of grasping the essence and content of these measures.

The sanctions unfortunately prove that the view that Yugoslavia, that is to say, Serbia and Montenegro, are the aggressors, has prevailed in the Security Council. This is an opinion imposed by the countries that were the most aggressive and uncompromising toward us in general, not only regarding the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They succeeded in imposing this opinion and incorporating it into the endorsed document. It is good that the second opinion claiming that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not exist was not accepted and that the attempts to contest Yugoslavia's continuity were halted, that is to say, have failed. It also is good that the secretary general was charged with monitoring the implementation of the decrees, that is to say, the articles of the previous Security Council resolution and to inform the Security Council on 15 June, or perhaps even earlier, about the extent to which these demands are being carried out, so that the Security Council can decide whether to abolish and suspend the sanctions imposed today.

We believe that this cloud that was artificially brought upon us, this stigma of our alleged aggression, will disappear very quickly, and that not only the facts coming from the field in Bosnia-Hercegovina will contribute to this but also the facts which originate on our side. These are, as I already said, above all, concrete measures and proposals, concrete activities that our side has proposed lately and especially in the course of events yesterday.

It is understandable that we will view these sanctions, which definitely are harming our economy, from such a political perspective. In further contacts with the secretary general and members of the Security Council, we will strive for a resolution of the problems outstanding at the time of the Security Council resolution in a satisfying manner and as soon as possible.

It is understandable that at least two sides have to exist for negotiations. We believe that on the side of the Security Council there will be good-willed countries who will acknowledge that everything essential already was contained in our proposals, as well as the situation in the field where, as we can see, the leadership of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina already is acting in accordance with the demands expressed in our documents yesterday.

Jovanovic: Letter to Ghali Meets UN Demands

AU3005190692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 May 92

[Report on news conference by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic in Belgrade on 30 May]

[Text] [Jovanovic] The view of the leadership of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina is well known. It has been and remains principled and consistent. We are energetically opposed to all forms of violence and war and are working for dialogue, negotiations, and talks as the only way to overcome all segments of the Yugoslav crisis, above all the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Regarding the specific situation in which the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina have found themselves, we have consistently been advocating the position that only the tripartite consensus among all three constitutive peoples can achieve just, lasting, and final solutions.

[Unidentified reporter, in English] ...(?force) over Sarajevo. What will be your response if we see a new bombardment of the city tonight?

[Jovanovic, in English] We are very sincerely interested in seeing the immediate secession of hostilities, first of all in Sarajevo, but in other parts of Bosnia as well. We have pressed the parties involved to respond to our appeal, to our request, and we got a positive response from the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We do hope that the same positive response would come from other two sides.

[Unidentified reporter] ...the telegram that the Presidency of Yugoslavia, that is Branko Kostic, today sent to Mr. Ghali. Do you not think that, in a situation when it is only a question of time before sanctions are adopted, that this kind of [word indistinct], this kind of communication is a bit late?

[Jovanovic] What happens in the present always lags behind what has gone before. One can say the same for these positions. The positions that have been presented in the letter which Mr. Kostic sent to Secretary General Ghali, however, as well as the positions expressed here, are coherent; they present a comprehensive view of all problems and offer solutions which satisfy the main interests of all three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the interests of peace in Yugoslavia and beyond it. Therefore, the moment is still appropriate, and we believe that these positions will be received with due care, that they will fall on fertile ground, and that they will have a positive effect on the future treatment of the Yugoslav crisis by all parties involved.

[Unidentified reporter, in English, fading into the correspondent's report on the news conference] In a reply to the question whether today's message can stop the sanctions, the Serbian foreign minister answered that the letter contains positive responses to everything that the world community is demanding from Serbia and Yugoslavia and even more, and this is why there is hope that this will be taken into consideration.

Replying to the observation by one correspondent that the text of today's message obviously represents a desperate attempt to stop sanctions, Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that, of course, no one liked the sanctions, but that Serbia has always expressed the view that it wants to cooperate on the basis of recognized international principles without involving itself in a war. Today's message by the government is in fact the expression of the view which we have been advocating up to now on how the crisis can be resolved, Jovanovic concluded.

[Jovanovic, in English, in progress] ...actions from one or other side. It is certainly not the idea to see the military forces of two powers engaged. It is one address to both countries to give their political assistance and to use their extraordinary capabilities to influence all three national groups there to agree to establish a joint command. All others are the details to be discussed in the next phase in the contacts between the powers if the two respective presidents answer [word indistinct] positively to this proposal.

Government Condemns Continued Bombing of Sarajevo

LD3005184792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Serbia has sent a message to the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina in which it expressed "extreme bitterness at the continuation of the merciless bombing of Sarajevo."

The message reads:

"Those who are doing this have undermined all—not just our, but also your—efforts to halt the escalation of the bloody fighting in BiH and are obviously working against the interests of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"The fact that you publicly announced a decision on the demilitarization of Sarajevo yesterday, as well as a proposal that the city be placed under UN protection, stirred up hope that the killings would come to an end in this bloody hotbed of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In our view, we can therefore interpret the continuation of artillery attacks on Sarajevo—which did ensue—only as a ruthless act carried out by those who do not care about peace.

"We believe that those responsible for these tragic events should not simply be placed under control [as received], but that they should be severely punished for this. This is why control should be established over everyone who is not yet under control [as received], while the government of the Republic of Serbia is aware of the fact that there are also groups on other sides which are acting outside anyone's control.

"Every rational person, in both Serbia and Yugoslavia, expects—in keeping with the positions you put forth on the demilitarization of Sarajevo—that all hostilities will end, especially the bombing of Sarajevo, which not only makes us extremely bitter, but also justifies the bitterness of the entire international community."

Opposition Leader Calls for March Against War

LD3105134192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), today called on the members and supporters of his party "to join a silent column of citizens of Belgrade who will pay tribute to the victims of the war in Bosnia- Hercegovina" on Sunday afternoon.

In the statement signed by the SPO leader, an appeal was made to the citizens to join the column—which will proceed from the Albania building and proceed as far as the Slavija District—and in this way express their bitterness and revulsion at all killers and warmongers.

"Let us show Europe and the world that another Serbia exists, the Serbia of life and not death; the Serbia of computers and not Kalashnikovs; the Serbia of the future and not of the past; the Serbia that longs for peace and friends; the Serbia that constitutes a majority and that must win," the statement adds.

Opposition Heads Belgrade Antiwar Demonstration

LD3105122992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—A large number of inhabitants of Belgrade today have responded to the call to join anti-war demonstrations organized by the center for anti-war activities, the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski pokret obnove—SPO] and the Democratic Party [Demokratska stranka], protesting the thousands of victims in the Bosnia-Hercegovina war.

At noon, the protest participants, wearing black armbands, started from the Albania Building on their way to the Slavija district. The organizers used megaphones to tell them to walk in silence.

The column is headed by opposition leaders including Vuk Draskovic, Nikola Milosevic, Zoran Horvan, Miladin Zivotic, and Mirko Petrovic.

The column is progressing peacefully. The police are not hindering the gathering.

The temperature is "high" only around the building of the Serbian Presidency, on Marshal Tito Street, where slogans against Slobodan Milosevic were chanted.

Draskovic Speaks

AU3105171692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 92

[Marica Selber report from Belgrade]

[Text] Several thousand residents formed a procession from the Albania Palace to Slavija carrying a 1,300 m-long black ribbon. The crowd occasionally cheered Vuk Draskovic [leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement], who was at the head of the procession with other opposition leaders.

An incident took place in the vicinity of the Serbian Assembly when the demonstrators attacked a group of Belgrade Television reporters. Immediately afterward Draskovic commented on this incident, accusing the authorities for being responsible for the aggressive behavior of individuals:

[Begin Draskovic recording] We shall bring down the regime and its main pillars of support in journalism and television, but never the innocent journalists, and under no circumstances by force, but in a democratic, lawful, and civilized manner. [end recording]

The fact that today's gathering had other connotations besides the peacemaking messages could be guessed from the statements made by Draskovic to the journalists, which expressed the sense that there will no further negotiations with the leadership and that a rally is planned at which they will force the ruling party to resign. [end recording]

Commenting on the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Draskovic said the following:

[Begin Draskovic recording] I would like to go to Sarajevo as soon as possible to extend a great apology to all, for all the crimes, for every bullet that was fired by the Serbian side, and for every grenade that fell on these towns and these settlements, to convey a great apology in the name of the Serbian nation which did not want this and was never asked for its consent. I am convinced that my offered hand of apology will be met by a similar Muslim and Croatian hand that will apologize for the crimes committed in the name of Croats and Muslims against the Serbians. Again, no one asked the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina if they were supporting this. [end recording]

Draskovic Blames Sanctions on 'Hottentots'

AU0106103892 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 31 May 92 pp 2-3

[Interview with Serbian Opposition Leader Vuk Draskovic by NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG reporter Radovan Jovanovic in Belgrade; date not given: "Europe and the United States Could Have Prevented the War"]

[Text] Belgrade—Serbia's opposition under Vuk Draskovic intends to boycott the parliamentary pseudo-elections of the "New Yugoslavia" today. The church has also called for the overthrow of the Milosevic regime. Next week, opposition leader Draskovic is planning to come to Austria to present "the other, the true Serbia, the Serbia of the majority." His trip and the planned meeting with Foreign Minister Mock can, however, not take place if the UN sanctions on transport become effective. In an interview by Radovan Jovanovic, the Serbian opposition leader comments on the following topics:

—On the claim of the Milosevic regime that Germany and Austria are mainly responsible for the war:

[Draskovic] "The ones who are chiefly to blame for what is happening in Yugoslavia are not in Vienna or Berlin, London, Washington, Moscow, or Paris. They are in Yugoslavia and they are in power. When I was in Africa as a journalist I met Hottentots. Unfortunately, people assumed power in the former Yugoslavia, whose way of thinking is that of Hottentot chiefs and African tribes."

"I would not say that Europe cannot be blamed. The United States, Great Britain, France, Austria, and Germany are to blame in that they failed to exert pressure at the proper time, so as to make the Hottentots in Yugoslavia resign. In that way they could have prevented the war, and Yugoslavia would have been saved."

"One big mistake was, however, made: If one grants the Croats the right to break away from Yugoslavia, one should also have permitted the Serbs in Krajina to secede from Croatia, if they so wished."

"Nonetheless, I wish to stress that those who are chiefly to blame for the Yugoslav misery are here and in power."

—On UN sanctions:

[Draskovic] "I am not opposed to pressure being exerted on these power cliques, nor am I opposed to their being isolated in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, everywhere. But if the sanctions hit the people and they have to suffer as 'a collective hostage,' even though they are not to blame, I do not think this is the proper way. As a human being, I cannot accept the idea that a single individual should suffer because someone intends to punish a regime. That would be the principle of collective retaliation."

—On his visit to Austria:

[Draskovic] "It will be the main goal of my visit to present the majority of Serbia, this democratic Serbia,

the tradition of the true Serbia, that is neither communist nor Hottentot, and to describe the tragedy of my people who have been forced into a situation where they are considered the representatives of the last Bolshevik bastion in Europe."

"I said at a large meeting in Novi Sad on 29 May that it is not true that the United States, France, and Great Britain are our enemies, as the leadership has claimed. Nor are Germany and Austria our enemies."

Correction to Milosevic Discusses Situation

AU2905194392

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Milosevic Interviewed on Current Situation," published in the 29 May East Europe DAILY REPORT, pp 48-54:

Page 53, column one, second full paragraph, last sentence through third paragraph, sentence one, make read: "...nevertheless these tendencies of reducing authority from the federal to the republican level did affect them. In what way do you think that the future authorities, the future system, will be organized in order to avoid the destructive tendencies which destroyed the former Yugoslavia? [new paragraph]

"[Milosevic] If we are..."(providing indistinct words);

Same page, column two, first partial paragraph, last sentence, make read: "...modern federation, is based on this and..."(confirming indistinct word);

Same page, column two, first full paragraph, only sentence, make read: "...open for cooperation, as you have already said, with all former subjects, former republics of Yugoslavia—cooperation based, naturally on equality—and remains open not just for cooperation, but also for the possibility that a state can join other states if that is in its interests. Does this leave an opportunity for us to look after the Serbian people living in neighboring republics and in the former republics of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, barring interference..."(providing indistinct words);

Page 53, column two, third full paragraph, second sentence, make read: "...we have interest, there is no doubt about it. [new graf]

"[Vucelic] All in all..."(providing indistinct words, editorial notation to indicate beginning of next question);

Page 53, column two, fourth full paragraph, second sentence through third sentence, make read: "...of its people. [new graf]

"[Milosevic] Naturally, I am..."(providing editorial notation to indicate beginning of Milosevic's answer);

Page 54, column one, second full paragraph, first sentence, make read: "...spoke about the economic situation giving rise..."(confirming indistinct word); Page 54, column one, sixth full paragraph, second sentence, make read: "...subjects in Serbia, and finally all citizens do so..."(providing indistinct words)

Kosovo

Rugova Holds News Conference on Election Results

AU3005175392 Tirana ATA in English 0854 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—According to the reports from Pristina, on May 29, the chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo and president of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, speaking at a press conference about May 24 elections, said among other things that the general results show that they were successful. We are fully satisfied also with the organisation carried out by the political parties and the local power, by the current Assembly of Kosovo, the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, and the Central Elections Commission, which have worked uninterruptedly to let known as soon as possible the elections results. We thank the people of Kosovo who showed that they know to be organised, who displayed self-control on the day of the voting. Meanwhile, he said, we denounce the Serb police repression on the day of elections, although no great conflicts sparked.

As for the observers, Rugova went on, they gave their own very positive assessment on the elections in Kosovo. They said the elections were regular, although under the very grave circumstances they were conducted. We require from the European Community and the United Nations to separate Kosovo from the sanctions against Serbia, because as Rugova said, Kosovo has for many years now been under Serbia's economic and political sanctions.

In the end, he said, we urgently demand the demilitarization of Kosovo. As we have often said, Rugova said, Kosovo's demilitarization in the framework of the global solution of the crisis would be the first step in the positive solution of Kosovo's question.

Urges Exemption From Sanctions

LD2905183392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Pristina, May 29 (TANJUG)—The leader of the Albanian national minority in Kosovo and Metohija, Ibrahim Rugova, on Friday [29 May] urged that that province in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia be exempted from the international sanctions against Yugoslavia which the United States and the European Community call for.

Addressing a news conference in the provincial capital of Pristina, Rugova did not elaborate any further, but did say that the parliament of the so-called Republic of Kosovo, elected by ethnic Albanians in illegal balloting on May 24, would be constituted next week.

Rugova's statement is clear evidence that the Albanian national minority in Kosovo and Metohija is not abandoning its secessionist aspirations and the idea of the creation of a "Greater Albania," which it is trying to translate into practice with foreign assistance, especially assistance from neighbouring Albanian and the secessionist republics of the former Yugoslavia.

The stance of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija has given rise to speculation about the opening of the so-called third front, i.e., a possible outbreak of war in southern Serbia.

Rugova said that "is no reason for war, since the creation of the Republic of Kosovo will not be done by force."

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija have for over a year and a half been boycotting the legal institutions and turning down the Serbian authorities' calls for dialogue. Ethnic-Albanian representatives did not, for instance, show up for talks with the Serbian prime minister in Belgrade on Thursday [28 May].

Asked why he was rejecting dialogue, Rugova said that talks must be agreed on beforehand and jointly prepared.

The chairman of the Serbian parliament's Committee for Kosovo and Metohija, Momcilo Trajkovic, informed a delegation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which is visiting the province, that the behaviour of the ethnic-Albanian parties "has led to a pre-conflict situation."

Trajkovic said that the state of Serbia would use all means to prevent the creation of some kind of a new Albanian state on its territory.

The Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK) won the illegal elections, whose results cannot be verified because ethnic Albanians voted secretly in homes, and DSK leader Rugova, who was the only candidate, was elected president of the so-called Republic of Kosovo.

The ethnic-Albanian elections were pronounced illegal and illegitimate by the authorities because they were contrary to the Constitution of Serbia and the Constitution of Yugoslavia.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1141 GMT on 29 May in a report on Rugova's press conference adds: "Fehmi Agani, vice chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, said when commenting on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's interview to Serbian Radio and television last night, that 'Milosevic is xenophobic and arrogant and his interview was in line with his public statements on Kosovo.'"]

Montenegro

Djukanovic: EC's Attitude Toward FRY 'Unjust'

LD2905145492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Herceg-Novi, May 29 (TANJUG)—The European Community's attitude towards the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], including Montenegro, is unjust, Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic told reporters in this Montenegrin Adriatic resort on Friday [29 May].

E.C. high officials meeting in Brussels on Tuesday [26 May] agreed in principle on a trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro because of their alleged involvement in the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The final decision on the issue rests with the E.C. ministerial council.

Armed conflicts between Bosnia-Hercegovina's three national communities—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—have escalated after the E.C. decided on April 7 to recognize the republic as an independent state although the three nations had not reached agreement on its future organization.

The international community has recognized the sovereignty and independence of former Yugoslav republics, which we also accept, said Djukanovic, but asked whether it was principled to deny Serbia and Montenegro the right and wish to continue living in a common state.

The Yugoslav Parliament on April 27 proclaimed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which consists of Serbia and Montenegro. These two republics have agreed to remain in a common state and continue the state, international-legal and political personality of the former Yugoslavia.

However much some may oppose this, said Djukanovic at the traditional May meeting of Yugoslav and foreign journalists in Herceg-Novi, there is no dilemma that the will of the citizens of the two republics will be attained.

Djukanovic also said that Serbia and Montenegro have many historical, economic, strategic and other reasons to stay together. Instead of yielding to short-term calculations and pressure, they have opted for long-term historical and future interests, he added.